

Museum notes.

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THE
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MUSEUM NOTES

I

1945



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THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
1946

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is a publication consisting principally of brief notes and papers on numismatic items in the Society's collection. It is prepared by the Staff and Members of the American Numismatic Society.

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BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
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INTRODUCING "MUSEUM NOTES"

It has been recognized for some time that the American Numismatic Society's two principal publications *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* and *Numismatic Studies*, leave certain gaps in our publication program which it would be desirable to fill. One of the deficiencies is in the field of short notes on coins which, while of interest or importance, do not call for individual volumes running to the size of our usual *Monographs*. We have in our collection, and acquire from time to time, pieces which well deserve illustration and a few pages of description, but which with our publication program as heretofore existing, go unrecorded. We also occasionally have new material brought to light bearing on *Monographs* or *Numismatic Studies* deserving publication as notes or supplements, but of extent too brief to warrant publishing separately.

A second deficiency is in the illustration of new acquisitions. Occasionally in the past a single plate with reproductions of important acquisitions has been included in the annual number of the "Proceedings." This has been quite inadequate to acquaint the membership—other than those who can attend the annual meeting with its display of the year's additions to our collection—with the extent and character of our accretions. We have in contrast to this the annual publication in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of the Greek coins acquired by the British Museum, a feature always followed with interest by collectors in that field. We plan to do somewhat the same

thing in *Museum Notes*—to have several plates of illustrations of our more important new coins in all fields with brief descriptions. In this way our members near and far will, we hope, be informed of the growth of our collection more vividly than in the past.

It is the plan in *Museum Notes* to assemble items of the character thus outlined, for publication periodically, starting with one volume each year. As in the case of the *Monographs* and *Studies* contributions will be welcomed from the Society's membership, as well as from the Museum Staff.

A word may be said on the departments of Numismatics treated in the *Museum Notes*. The Society's collection covers all fields, without discrimination, but it is inevitable that the "Notes" will reflect to a considerable degree the size of the Society's funds for coin purchases in different branches, as they have been built up by bequests. The principal coin purchase funds with their purpose, and their approximate present incomes, are here listed:

AVERY FUND

The Avery Fund is named for Mr. Samuel P. Avery, the largest donor to its principal of \$10,000.00. It was completed in 1916. The effort to obtain a fund which would enable the Society to increase its permanent collections enlisted contributions from a considerable number of its members. The income, approximately \$370.00 per annum at the present time, is assigned to purchases outside the classical field.

GEORGE H. CLAPP COIN PURCHASE FUND

Established in 1937, principal \$5,000.00, income

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at present approximately \$170.00 annually; allocated to purchases of coins of the United States.

W. GEDNEY BEATTY PURCHASE FUND

Bequest of Mr. W. Gedney Beatty, 1941; principal \$5,000; income approximately \$150.00 per year; limited to purchases in the field of Greek coins.

EDWARD P. GROH MEMORIAL FUND

Established 1911; principal \$1,500.00; income approximately \$50.00 per year; allocated to purchase of United States coins and especially current issues.

E. T. NEWELL COIN PURCHASE FUND

Bequest of Edward T. Newell; established 1944; principal \$50,000.00; income approximately \$2,000.00 per year; designated for the purchase of coins, preferably classical and oriental.

A. S. SULLIVAN MEDAL FUND

Established 1913; principal about \$3,000.00; a memorial to Algernon Sydney Sullivan by his son; income approximately \$45.00 per year; allocated to the acquisition of foreign medals.

It will be observed that our funds for the purchase of ancient coins greatly exceed those in the other fields, so that acquisition by purchase must at present be predominantly in that category. This does not, however, mean that the Society's collections are seriously deficient in other representation, since we have been fortunate in bequests, such as the Scoville collection of Italian coins, which have maintained a

balance. While it is our hope that *Museum Notes* will inform our membership of the extent and growth of our collection better than heretofore, nothing will of course take the place of personal visits and study in the Museum, where members and their friends are always welcome.

HERBERT E. IVES

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED DURING 1945

(SEE PLATES I-V)

TROAS

ABYDUS, 190-148 B.C.

1-4. The acquisition of two of the late tetradrachms of Abydus during 1944 and of two more during the present year brought about a study of the series to which these spread-flan pieces belong.

Poor style and sub-par workmanship result in an almost total lack of aesthetic appeal and are possibly responsible for the neglect which these coins have suffered. As they are fairly numerous, the prices brought for them in auction sales have been moderate, and the catalogues have rarely illustrated more than one or two, even when more than that number were present in a collection.

These tetradrachms are of Attic weight, and are assigned by Head to 190 B. C. or later, following the battle of Magnesia. A "freeing" of certain of the cities of Asia Minor was confirmed at the Peace of Apameia in 188. Many of these cities struck tetradrachms with the types of Alexander about this time, but whether they began the striking immediately is open to query. These coins with Alexander's types had usually a spread planchet with beveled or hammered edges, and for subsidiary symbols, the respective badge or coat-of-arms of the issuing city. Some thirty or more of these issues are known. Last year we acquired a specimen struck for Cyme. The series is well represented in Mr. Newell's collection.

Broad-flan tetradrachms were also struck, with both obverse and reverse types which are distinctly *local*, by some of the neighboring cities; the Ilium piece described on p. 10 is an excellent illustration, and similar coins were struck at Alexandria Troas and elsewhere. The magistrates in charge are indicated on these various coinages in several ways: by monograms, by symbols, and by both monograms and symbols. Sometimes the names of the magistrates are complete, thereby affording helpful indications as to name-forms. Because the magistrate was likely to be a person of some prominence, this provides a valuable addition to the prosopography of the region. At Erythrae, on the minor coins of bronze, the name of a single magistrate appears, but with his patronymic. Fortunately preserved inscriptions found here show that the priesthood for the city changed yearly and that the names which are mentioned in these records occur also on the coins as magistrates.¹ On the "New Style" tetradrachms of Athens, which parallel these issues chronologically, we have the names of three magistrates as well as a symbol, and it has been shown that the symbol is the badge of the first of the magistrates.

At Abydus we find a procedure which does not seem to have been observed previously, which promises valuable aid to the chronology of the region, something sadly needed in the history of Asia Minor. It will be seen that, with one exception, the coins illustrated on PLATES I and II have a name in full in the exergue, and that in addition there is a symbol in the right field. We have been able to compare about

¹L. Robert, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 1933, p. 467ff.

twenty-nine specimens which have appeared in auction sales, and to supplement these with the pieces illustrated in B. M. C. *Troas*, the McClean, Hunter and other catalogues. These illustrations, together with our coins, show that the name which appears in the exergue is not always accompanied by the same symbol, and furthermore, that a given symbol is sometimes found with two differing names. It thus becomes clear that the symbol does not belong to the magistrate whose name appears with it and that the term of office for the magistrate who is represented by the symbol did not change at the same time as did that for the man whose name appears in the exergue; in other words, the terms overlap. In consequence of this, a sequence can be formed: 1. Symbol A with Name A; 2. Symbol A with Name B; 3. Name B with Symbol B, etc. This may be the reverse order, but by adding to such groups or sequences it should be possible to place the city's coinage in chronological order. Further, this process is aided by die-mulings since, as elsewhere, the obverse die can be shown to have been used for a longer period than the reverses, and this circumstance occasionally supplies connections additional to those indicated above. Some day a carefully recorded hoard will provide confirmative datings. A demonstration of these statements will have to await the obtaining of casts or other reproductions of coins known to be in European cabinets, but it is not too soon to point out the possibility of this operation.

Anyone who has attempted to place in order a group of such coins as those of Abydos which we have been considering will have been smiling know-

ingly at the implication that the operation is as simple as indicated in what precedes. An illustration of the kind of difficulty which arises is to be found in No. 1 on PLATE I. Here we have the only example thus far encountered among these tetradrachms of a coin with a symbol but without an accompanying name. Does this perhaps mean that it was the earliest of the group? Another specimen is known with this symbol, but there the accompanying name is ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΥ. The name of this man is also found on another coin with a GRAPE-CLUSTER as the symbol. If our proposition regarding sequences is correct, we have then an excellent start, for the order would have to be first the piece without a name, then the one with the name of Diodorus with the WREATH, followed by the one with the same name and the GRAPE-CLUSTER for its symbol.

One might hazard an attempt at dating this series of Abydus coins, using as a basis the coinage for Ilios as arranged by Dr. Regling.² His first class consists of the spread-flan pieces. The second group has smaller and thicker flans, while the third class, which he dates as extending to 86/5 B. C., has thick flans and is cruder in style than either of the other classes. The second group is placed after 150, although he states that he believes an appreciable interval may have separated it from the preceding group. Head indicates that there is a ground for thinking that the coinage at Abydus began after 190, "or perhaps somewhat later."

Turning now to the reverse type of the Abydus coins, a comparison with the tetradrachms of Perseus

²*Zeitschrift für Numismatik* XXXVIII (1928) pp. 118ff.

for Macedonia will show a striking similarity in the eagles which occur on both. Furthermore, the coinage of silver by the four *regiones* into which Macedonia was divided by the Romans, which existed only between the years 159 to 148, was terminated on the latter date, and the further coinage of silver prohibited. As on the coins of Perseus, the eagle type at Abydus is surrounded by a wreath, and the flans are nearly identical in size, thickness and format generally. This parallelism is too close to be without intention, and whatever may have been its cause, it deserves recognition even though a satisfactory explanation be lacking. It would seem that the coins of Abydus must have circulated in a 'market' in which the earlier Macedonian types had been acceptable or even preferred. It would not be too much to suppose that the issue at Abydus might have been tolerated or perhaps encouraged by the Romans, if we accept Theodore Reinach's³ thesis that the spread-flan coinages for Thasos and Maroneia were 'supported' by them, when the need for silver coins in the Macedonian districts had shown their stoppage in 148 to have been too drastic a penalty. This would presumably have taken place after the downfall of Perseus following Pydna (168) or after the banning of silver coinage for Macedonia in 148. The gradual constriction of the flan noted by Regling at nearby Ilium, and used as one criterion in classifying its coins, would make the later date the more likely of the two. Certainly the steady falling off in style at Ilium finds a parallel at Abydus and the

³"L'Anarchie monétaire et ses remèdes chez les anciens Grecs," *Mém. de l'Acad. d. Inscr.* XXXVIII, Pt. 2, p. 360.

coinage for both city-states is extensive enough to have extended to the close of the Mithradatic war (c. 77/6).

ILIAM, 190-150 B. C.

5. Head of Athena in Attic helmet with three-fold crest and a visor over which a crown of leaves is visible.

Rev. ΑΘΗΝΑΣ right, ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ left, both reading downward; in exergue, magistrate's name ΕΥΒΟΥΛΙΔΟΥ. Athena Ilias striding r., wearing polos, and holding a lance over her shoulder with her right hand, tip forward, and in her l. hand a distaff. At her feet, in r. field, an owl; behind her, in l. field, a kerykeion and monogram.

℞. 16.95 gr. (Only previous publication in supplement to catalogue of De Sartiges Coll.) PLATE II, 5.

The above description is abridged from that given in Dr. Regling's comprehensive list which is appended to the account of the five pieces found in the Babylon hoard.⁴ The total number of these tetradrachms known to Regling is only forty-one, and of these, two were in Mr. Newell's collection. We now have three specimens. These are fortunately distributed among the three classes distinguished, one in each class, with the most recent addition the earliest. Our coin comes early in this class.

Many with an interest in things Greek do not associate Ilium with anything later than its early history and

⁴*Zeitschrift für Numismatik* XXXVIII (1928) pp. 118ff. In his elucidation of the pieces in the Babylon hoard, Dr. Regling states that a fillet (taenia) is attached to the lance or spear carried by Athena, and his reproductions bear this out, with one possible exception. On our piece, however, the preservation is such that there is small room for doubt that the fillet is part of the "distaff," which is where one would more properly expect it to be, and the form of the distaff is like that given by Heydemann (*Zeit. für Num.* III (1876) p. 120, fig. 2) where it is attached to the top of the knob. In some of the later issues, because the top of the distaff and the line of the lance intersect, it is almost impossible to say to which the fillet is attached. In some instances no fillet is visible.

the war of the Greeks and Trojans. The city was honored by Alexander and a temple was built there by Lysimachus. According to Head, the silver coinage to which our piece belongs was instituted after the Peace of Apamea in 188 B. C., when the city was numbered among the "freed" cities of Asia Minor. The placement of our coin, once the sequence in Regling's first group has been established, should permit a fairly close dating, since he did not believe this group extended later than 155 to 150. In the Babylon hoard there is a dated piece of Alexandria Troas of the year 163-2; we should probably be not far astray in dating ours after 167.

There is good reason for believing that the procedure of having two magistrates represented on the coins which seems to have been employed at Abydus extended also to Ilium. This coin bears the same symbol (caduceus) and monogram as one recorded by Dr. Regling⁵ but with the difference that the name in the exergue on our piece is ΕΥΒΟΥΛΙΔΟΥ while that on the Berlin specimen is ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ. It follows, then, that our piece should either immediately precede or immediately follow the other. Further investigation may establish that this was a practice followed elsewhere in Asia Minor at this time.

THRACE

ABDERA, 450-425 B. C.

6. Griffin seated to l. ΑΒΔΗΡΩΝ.

Rev. ΕΠΙΟΡΧΑΜΟ. Within square, lion striding r.

Æ. 6.04 gr. Ex Mathey and Fenerley Bey Collections.

This denomination, a didrachm, is unusual for Abdera. Strack (*Antike Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* Band II, Teil 1, p. 66) assigns the above dates and considers it a necessity issue. PLATE III, 6.

⁵*Zeit. für Num.* XXXVIII (1928) p. 119, No. 72.

ABDERA, *circa* 430 B. C.

7. Griffin to l. AB.

Rev. Satyr kneeling to l., holding kantharos in r. hand.
ΕΠΙ (Π) ΕΙΘΕ ΣΙ (Τ) ΕΩ.

Æ. 10.82 gr. PLATE III, 7.

Both type and magistrate are new. Analogy with similar issues would make about 430 a probable date for this piece.

ARGOLIS

ARGOS, 400–322 B. C.

8. Head of Hera wearing necklace and stephane with palmette ornament, facing to r.

Rev. ΑΡΓΕ ΙΩΝ Wolf to r.; dolphin to l., above, and dolphin to r., below.

Æ. Stater. 12.24 gr. *Ex* De Sartiges and Rhousopoulos Coll. (Hirsch Sale XIII, 2676). PLATE III, 8.

SICULO-PUNIC

9. Head of Arethusa (?) derived from Sicilian prototypes, facing to r.; thymiaterion in r. field and pellet under chin.

Rev. Horse to r.; palm-tree behind. In r. field, Nike holding a caduceus and flying l., crowns the horse. Above horse, ΣΩ; between the forelegs and tree-trunk, two Phoenician letters. Ground line, border of dots.

Æ. Tetradrachm. 16.81 gr. *Ex* Naville Sale XV (1930) Pl. 15, 434. PLATE III, 9.

The combination of Greek and Phoenician letters on the same die is unusual.

PHOENICIA

TYRE, 450–400 B. C.

10. Dolphin r. over line of waves; below, murex shell. Beaded border.

Rev. In incuse square, owl standing r.; behind, crook and flail.

Æ. Stater. 13.43 gr. PLATE IV, 10.

This coin, and two others which are similar, came from Persia, and are said to have been found together in a hoard. This is also true of the Sidon piece which follows, and there are two further specimens like the above. One of these specimens was struck over a stater of Aegina. Of the pieces which we acquired, one shows an inscription. This issue is dated 450–400 B. C. in the British Museum Catalogue.

SIDON, End of Fifth Century

11. Phoenician galley with four sails and with bulwarks lined with shields, to l., above conventionalized waves.

Rev. On a reserve in an incuse square, a crowned figure drawing bow, to r. In front, within incuse, head of a goat (?) to l.; in field to l., also within incuse, a bearded head (?).

Æ. Half-Shekel. 7.07 gr. Cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 448, where this coin is classed as uncertain. Head and Babelon assign it to Sidon. Specimens are in London, Paris and Berlin (*ex* Imhoof-Blumer Coll.). PLATE IV, 11.

CRETE

POLYRHENIUM, 200–67 B. C.

12. Bust of Dictynna (or Artemis?) facing, ends of a bow and quiver behind her shoulder. Beaded border.

Rev. Nude figure of Apollo facing three-quarters to l., r. hand extended, and long bow in l. The ethnic is in two vertical lines.

Æ. Attic hemidrachm. 1.87 gr. PLATE IV, 12.

Head identifies the goddess as Dictynna and doubts that the reverse figure is Apollo.

CYPRUS

PNYTAGORAS OF SALAMIS, 351-332 B. C.

13. Turreted head of Aphrodite to l. In r. field, ΠΝ.
Rev. Head of Athena in Corinthian helmet to l.; ΒΑ
 in r. field.

Æ. Tetradrachm of Rhodian standard (unpublished).
 14.03 gr. PLATE IV, 13.

This dynast submitted to Alexander and served in the naval forces in the siege of Tyre. Gold and silver coins struck by him are known, but this denomination and the Athena type are new.

BACTRIA AND NORTH-WEST INDIA

STRATO AND AGATHOKLEIA

14. Jugate busts of Strato and Agathokleia wearing diadems. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

Rev. Full-length figure of Athena to l. in rear view, fulmen in raised r. hand, shield, on which is Gorgoneion, on l. arm. In l. field, monogram. Inscription with name and titles of Strato in Kharosthi characters.

Æ. 8.83 gr. *Ex* Gen. Haughton Coll. Cf. Rapson, *Corolla Numismatica* p. 250, Pl. XII, 6, for another specimen (in the British Museum). This piece is from the same obverse and reverse dies. It provides a fortunate addition to the extraordinary collection of Bactrian coins formed by Mr. Newell. PLATE IV, 14.

ALEXANDER TYPES

SICYON

15. Heracles head to r.

Rev. Seated Zeus holding eagle and sceptre. His throne has two Nikes as finials to the back. Beneath cross-bar of throne ΔΕ. In l. field, Athena with spear and shield, facing l. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ[Y] in r. field.

Æ. Tetradrachm. 16.99 gr. PLATE V, 15.

This beautifully centered specimen bears the same symbol as others found near Patras about 1850, described in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1854, p. 31. It is to be dated between 273, when Sicyon regained autonomy, and 251, when it became a part of the Achaean League.

MILETUS

16. Heracles head to r.

Rev. Zeus seated l., holding eagle and sceptre. Beneath cross-bar of throne, monogram ΜΑ. In l. field, lion of Miletus facing l. with star and Μ.

Æ. Tetradrachm. 16.86 gr. PLATE V, 16.

The throne and the sceptre have a beaded rather than a continuous outline. The style and size of the flan indicate that this piece precedes those in Müller's Class VI.

CNIDUS

17. Heracles head to r.

Rev. Seated Zeus holding eagle and sceptre. Throne without back. In l. field, prow of galley to l.

Æ. Tetradrachm. 16.86 gr. PLATE V, 17.

A broad-flan piece (Müller's Class VI) probably to be dated after 190 B. C.

SYDNEY P. NOE

SELEUCID COINS OF AKE-PTOLEMAIS IN PHOENICIA SELEUCUS IV TO TRYPHON

(SEE PLATES VI-XI)

While examining the Seleucid coins in the collection of the Newell Bequest at the American Numismatic Society, the writer was most interested to observe that Mr. Newell had assigned certain tetradrachms of Antiochus IV to the mint of Ake-Ptolemais. There are three examples, two bearing the monogram Λ on the obverse and reverse, PLATE VII, 10, and VIII, 11. All have as reverse type, the seated Zeus and as symbol on the reverse, a palm branch, which constitutes the second distinguishing mark of the tetradrachms of Antiochus IV struck at this mint. The tickets accompanying these coins are labelled AKE-PTOLEMAIS.

Another tetradrachm of Antiochus IV of this same class, PLATE VIII, 12, has long been known from the B. M. C. *Syria*, Pl. XI, 7. And, from the presence of the same monogram and symbol on other tetradrachms of Antiochus with the seated Apollo as reverse type,¹ PLATE VII, 5, it follows that they too emanate from this mint. Accordingly, we find that Mr. Newell placed at the head of his coins of Antiochus IV with the seated Zeus type, casts of a tetradrachm in Milan, PLATE VII, 8, with the seated Apollo with the palm symbol and the same monograms as B. M. C. *Syria*, Pl. XI, 3 (here No. 8).

¹B. M. C. *Syria*, Pl. XI, 1 and 3 and *Rois de Syrie*, Pl. XII, 3 (here No. 6).

That the tetradrachms with Apollo reverse type and short inscription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, preceded those with Zeus type and longer inscriptions is a logical conclusion adopted by the B. M. C. *Syria, Rois de Syrie*, and by Newell in *Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, where the Apollo tetradrachms of Antiochus IV are classified in Series I and dated 176/5–170/169 B. C. But, as Babelon has pointed out,² at first glance it seems odd that the earlier coins bear a much older portrait of the king than the later ones. The explanation, as Babelon saw, is that on the first issues Antiochus was represented at his true age, probably over forty, while on the later issues his portrait was radically rejuvenated.

This transfiguration on the coinage of Antiochus, the man, to Antiochus, the God Manifest, took place in 169/8–166 B. C. after his Egyptian campaigns. Previously his divinity had been indicated on the coins by the star (sun) symbol above his head, PLATE VII, 5, or by two stars at the ends of his diadem, No. 7; and on a tetradrachm struck early in the reign, the title Theos occurs.³ But on the tetradrachms struck at Antioch from about 169/8, Antiochus introduced a new reverse type, Zeus Olympios, the supreme Greek deity under whose worship he hoped to unite all the local Oriental cults in his empire.⁴ On these coins, in addition to the stars on the ends of the diadem, the king is entitled Theos Epiphanes, "God Manifest" (in the flesh). Later on, in 166 B. C., he appropriated to himself Zeus' epithet, Nikephoros,

²*Rois de Syrie*, p. xciii.

³*Rois de Syrie*, Pl. XII, 5.

⁴B. M. C. *Syria*, Pl. XI, 8 and *Rois de Syrie*, Pl. XII, 8.

"Victorious," on coins issued to celebrate his Egyptian triumphs on the occasion of the great festival held at Daphne near Antioch. By the adoption of this surname, his identification with Zeus was made unmistakably clear.

The contrast between the earlier and later heads of Antiochus is most noticeable at Ake-Ptolemais, where at first he is portrayed as slightly bald, with full face and heavy jowls, PLATE VII, 5, whereas later his forehead is covered with clusters of curly locks, and the youthfulness of his face is strongly accentuated, PLATE VIII, 11. The same metamorphosis is observable on the coinage of Antioch.⁵

In *Late Seleucid Mints in Ake-Ptolemais and Damascus* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 84, 1939) Mr. Newell had dealt with the tetradrachms of the Ake mint from the time of Alexander I Balas. Here he called attention, p. 2, note 3, to the local bronze issues of Antiochus IV struck in the name of the city, ANTIOXEON TON EN PTOLEMAIDI, "Antioch in the district of Ptolemais,"⁶ but made no reference to the silver coins. But now we find that in his cabinet he had assembled material on the silver issues of the period preceding Alexander.

In the tray with the coins of Antiochus IV are casts of a rare tetradrachm of Antiochus V from the London collection, which has the monogram Α on the obverse and a palm branch on the reverse, PLATE IX, 17. This is a coin of Phoenician weight and reverse type, an eagle, published by Hill,⁷ of which a

⁵Compare B. M. C. *Syria*, Pl. XI, 2 with 8 or *Seleucid Mint of Antioch*, Pl. III, 42 with 54.

⁶*Rois de Syrie*, p. 79, No. 619.

⁷*Num. Chron.* 1926, Pl. VI, 22.

second specimen exists in the Berlin collection, published by Macdonald.⁸ In Hill's publication of the London example, he quoted Macdonald as remarking that the coin is a "forerunner of the Phoenician coinage which began regularly twelve or fourteen years later under Alexander I," that is, the well-known issues of Tyre, Sidon, etc. In neither of these publications was there a suggestion as to the mint, although the presence of identical monograms and the palm symbol on other Seleucid coins of the period was noted. Since this Phoenician issue of Antiochus V bears the characteristic marks of control found on the coins of Antiochus IV attributed by Newell to Ake-Ptolemais, it must belong, as he has indicated, to this same mint. Another tetradrachm of Antiochus V, PLATE IX, 15, with the seated Zeus reverse type having Λ on the obverse and reverse and the palm symbol on the reverse, is an issue precisely parallel to the coins of Attic weight and similar reverse struck by Antiochus IV at Ake, and so is to be added to the group.

Thus all of the tetradrachms of Antiochus IV and V assigned to Ake consist of (a) coins of Attic weight with "Antiochene" or regal reverse types, Apollo or Zeus, and (b) coins of Phoenician weight with the eagle reverse type. For Antiochus IV (175-164), only Attic tetradrachms are known, whereas Antiochus V (164-2) struck both Attic and Phoenician tetradrachms. Under Alexander I Balas (150-145) and Tryphon (142-139/8), the coinage apparently

⁸*Zeit. f. Num.*, 1912, Pl. IV, 16.

consisted solely of Phoenician tetradrachms, examples of which have been published by Newell.⁹

A Phoenician tetradrachm of Antiochus VI (145-142/1), whose reign fell between that of Balas and Tryphon, has just recently been published by Mrs. Stella Ben-Dor in *Kedem*, II, 1945, here illustrated on plate X, 21, to which Dr. A. R. Bellinger kindly drew the writer's attention. Hence, except for Demetrius I (162-150), we have thus far a continuous series of Ake tetradrachms for the period, 175-139/8. Under Antiochus VII (139/8-129) no silver coins were struck, but in the second reign of Demetrius II (129-126), the issue of both Attic and Phoenician tetradrachms was revived, as described by Newell in *Late Seleucid Mints*.

However, in Mr. Newell's tray with the other coins and casts, there is a tetradrachm of Demetrius I, which fills in the gap above noted. It is an Attic tetradrachm and as such bears the seated Demeter, the new reverse type introduced by this ruler, PLATE IX, 18. While the ticket is not marked, it may be suggested here that a contributory reason for its attribution to Ake, aside from considerations of style, would be the presence in the exergue of the monogram, $\bar{\Lambda}$, found in slightly different form on the Phoenician coins of Antiochus V, the immediate predecessor of Demetrius, PLATE IX, 17, and of Alexander I, his successor, PLATE X, 19. This signature may possibly be that of the official who signs himself $\Lambda\Gamma$ on the Attic tetradrachm of Antiochus IV, PLATE VIII, 12. Another reason, as

⁹N. N. M., No. 84, Pl. I, A, Balas, and *ibid.* Pl. I, B, Tryphon, from *Rois de Syrie*, Pl. XXI, 4.

we shall see, is that Demetrius struck bronze coins of the same type as those which Mr. Newell has included in the tray under Antiochus IV and labelled AKE-PTOLEMAIS, PLATE XI, 25-27 and 28.

At the beginning of the whole series, Mr. Newell put a number of tetradrachms of Seleucus IV, who directly preceded Antiochus IV, PLATE VI, 1-4. The first of these pieces is represented by casts of a coin in the Cambridge, McClean, Collection, PLATE VI, 1. It bears on the reverse the now familiar monogram Λ and the palm symbol, which were the characteristic marks on the Ake coinage under Antiochus IV and V. Though only this first issue bears these mint marks, all of these tetradrachms have as a common denominator, a wreath placed behind the king's head, and differ in style from his issues at Antioch. In view of these facts, though the coins are not labelled, the attribution to Ake seems assured.

In the following Catalogue, are included descriptions of the issues of Seleucus IV to Demetrius I, namely, the coins and casts assembled by Mr. Newell, in the order in which they lay in the tray, and of some similar published coins obviously belonging to Ake. No attempt has been made to list all the known specimens or varieties.

CATALOGUE

A. Rev. Seated Apollo.

SELEUCUS IV, 187-175 B. C.

1. Head of Seleucus IV diademed to r.; at l., wreath tied below. Border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ on l. Apollo,

nude except for drapery over r. leg, seated to l. on the omphalos, holding an arrow downwards in outstretched r. and resting l. on upright bow behind omphalos; in l. field, Δ and palm branch; in exergue, Λ A. Border of dots.

\mathcal{R} . Attic tetradrachm. 16.06 gr. Cambridge, McClean. Grose, Cat. McClean Collection III, p. 331, no. 9277, Pl. 338, 1. PLATE VI, 1.

2. Similar.

Rev. Similar without monogram or symbol in the l. field; in exergue, AN.¹⁰

\mathcal{R} . Attic tetradrachm. 16.90 gr. American Numismatic Society, Newell Bequest. PLATE VI, 2.

3. Similar.

Rev. Similar; in exergue, Δ (indistinct).

\mathcal{R} . Attic tetradrachm. 16.45 gr. A. N. S., Newell. Cat. Ratto, April 1927, Pl. LXI, 2460. PLATE VI, 3.

4. Similar.

Rev. Similar; in exergue, AN.

\mathcal{R} . Attic tetradrachm. a) — gr. Milan. PLATE VI, 4; b) 17.00 gr. Cat. Schlessinger, 1935, Pl. 51, 1445.

ANTIOCHUS IV, 175–164 B. C.

Series I, 175–169/8 B. C.

5. Head of Antiochus IV diademed to r., surmounted by a star. Border of dots.

Rev. BAΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Similar; drapery over omphalos only; in l. field, a palm branch curving upwards to l.; to r. of inscription, Δ ; in exergue, Δ P (indistinct). Border of dots.

\mathcal{R} . Attic tetradrachm. 16.94 gr. London. B. M. C. *Syria*, p. 34, no. 2, Pl. XI, 1. PLATE VII, 5.

6. Similar.

¹⁰Cf. *Rois de Syrie* p. 62, no. 475, Pl. XI, 14, obverse only, with A I in the exergue, and no. 474 with palm and Λ A.

Rev. Similar; in exergue, ⸙^r.

Æ. Attic tetradrachm. 17.10 gr. Paris, de Luynes, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 68, no. 523, Pl. XII, 3.

7. Similar; stars below the ends of the diadem, no star above the head.

Rev. Similar; drapery over r. leg and omphalos; in exergue, ⸙.

Æ. Attic tetradrachm. a) 16.93 gr. Glasgow, Macdonald, *Hunterian Cat.* III, p. 41, no. 4, Pl. LXVI, 9. b) 16.90 gr. *Cat. Schlessinger*, 1935, Pl. 51, 1446.

Series II, 166–164 B. C.¹¹

8. Similar; without stars. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY in two lines on r., ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ and ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ in two lines on l. Similar; palm branch longer and curving slightly to r.; in exergue, ⸙. Border of dots.

Æ. Attic tetradrachm. a) 16.91 gr. London, B. M. C. *Syria*, p. 34, no. 5, Pl. XI, 3; b) same obverse but different reverse die. — gr. Milan, *PLATE VII*, 8.

9. Similar.

Rev. Similar; in exergue, Α Γ.

Æ. Attic tetradrachm. 15.32 gr. (oxydized and cleaned). Berlin, from the Babylon Hoard, 1900, *Zeit. f. Num.* XXXVIII, 1928, p. 128, no. 86, Pl. XIII, 86.

B. *Rev.* Seated Zeus

10. *Obv.* Similar; in l. field, Α (indistinct). Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY in two lines on r., ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ in three lines on l. Zeus, nude to the waist, ends of his himation over l. shoulder and lap, seated to l. on throne with high back;

¹¹On 166 instead of 167 B. C. as the year of the Daphne festival, cf. Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India* p. 193, note 6, and Newell, *Royal Greek Portrait Coins*, p. 57.

in outstretched r., Nike holding wreath with long fillet before Zeus' head; his raised l. rests on upright scepter; in l. field, palm branch upwards; in exergue, Α and Π. No border of dots visible.

Æ. Attic tetradrachm. 17.00 gr. A. N. S., Newell, from the "Teheran" Hoard, 1923. Labelled AKE-PTOLEMAIS. PLATE VII, 10.

11. Similar, same monogram.

Rev. Similar; uprights of throne surmounted by triangles and joined by a cross-piece; in exergue, Α and ΑΣ.

Æ. Attic tetradrachm. 16.95 gr. A. N. S., Newell, from Sir Hermann Weber Coll. Labelled AKE-PTOLEMAIS. PLATE VIII, 11.

12. Similar, same monogram.

Rev. Similar; in exergue, ΑΓ.

Æ. Attic tetradrachm. a) 17.13 gr. London, B. M. C. *Syria*, p. 35, no. 19, Pl. XI, 7, PLATE VIII, 12. b) 17.00 gr. Same pair of dies, Cat. Schlessinger. 1935, Pl. 51, 1448.

13. Similar, same monogram.

Rev. Similar; in exergue, Μ.

Æ. Attic tetradrachm. a) 17.04 gr. Glasgow, Macdonald, Hunterian Cat. III, p. 47, no. 45, Pl. LXVI, 17; b) 17.04 gr. Berlin, from the Babylon Hoard, 1900, *Zeit. f. Num.* XXXVIII, 1928, p. 129, no. 88, Pl. XIII, 88.


14. Similar, same monogram (indistinct).


Rev. Similar; no cross-piece on throne; in exergue, Π.¹²

Æ. Attic tetradrachm. 16.40 gr. A. N. S., Newell. Labelled AKE-PTOLEMAIS. PLATE VIII, 14.

¹²Cf. a similar coin, probably later, Cat. Schlessinger, 1935, Pl. 51, 1449.


ANTIOCHUS V, 164–162 B. C.


15. Head of Antiochus V diademed to r.; in l. field, . Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l., ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ in exergue (letters faint). Similar; cross-piece joining the uprights of throne; in l. field, palm branch, and to r. of inscription .

Æ. Attic tetradrachm. 16.70 gr. Paris, de Luynes, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 88, no. 698, Pl. XV, 10. PLATE IX, 15.

C. *Rev. Eagle*

16. Similar; in l. field, . Border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ around, beginning above on r. Eagle with closed wings standing to l. on thunderbolt; in l. field, palm branch curving upwards to l.; between eagle's legs, . Border of dots.

Æ. Phoenician tetradrachm. a). — gr. (plated). Berlin, *Zeit. f. Num.* XXIX, 1912, p. 95, no. 17, Pl. IV, 16, from Cat. Morel, 1886, no. 106; b) 12.57 gr. (plated). H. Seyrig Coll.

17. Similar, same monogram.

Rev. Similar; between eagle's legs, .

Æ. Phoenician tetradrachm. 13.45 gr. London, *Num. Chron.* 5th ser., VI, 1926, p. 130, no. 22, Pl. VI, 22, from Col. Massy's Coll.; purchased at Tyre. PLATE IX, 17.

D. *Rev. Seated Demeter*

DEMETRIUS I, 162–150 B. C.

18. Head of Demetrius I diademed to r. Border of wreath and fillet intertwined.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ in two lines on l. Demeter, clad in chiton and peplos and with head inclined downwards, seated to l. on throne supported by a winged, female monster; in outstretched

r., scepter; in l., cornucopiae filled with fruits; in l. field, eight-pointed star; in exergue, $\overline{\Lambda}$.

\mathcal{R} . Attic tetradrachm. 16.32 gr. A. N. S., Newell, Cat. Cahn, 1929, Pl. 8, 257. PLATE IX, 18.

E. Rev. Eagle

ALEXANDER I BALAS, 150–145 B. C.

Dated Issue of year 162, Seleucid Era, 151/0 B. C.

19. Head of Alexander I Balas diademed to r. Border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ around, beginning above on r. Eagle with closed wings standing to l. on thunderbolt; behind eagle, a stalk of barley; in l. field, $\overline{\Lambda}$ above date ΒΕΡ; in r. field, ΠΤΟ, initial letters of Ptolemais; between eagle's legs, $\overline{\Lambda}$. Border of dots.

\mathcal{R} . Phoenician tetradrachm. 14.22 gr. A. N. S., Newell, from the Rouvier collection, Num. Notes & Mon., No. 84, 1939, p. 2, note 4, Pl. I, A. PLATE X, 19.

Dated Issue of year 163, Seleucid Era, 150/149 B. C.

20. Similar.

Rev. Similar; in l. field, $\overline{\Lambda}$ above date ΓΕΡ; in r. field, ΠΙΡ,¹³ city monogram.

\mathcal{R} . Phoenician tetradrachm. 14.23 gr. A. N. S., Newell, Cat. Ciani, Feb. 1925, Pl. 15, 837, from Col. Allotte de la Fuÿe's Coll. PLATE X, 20.¹⁴

ANTIOCHUS VI, 145–142, B. C.

Dated Issue of year 169, Seleucid Era, 144/3 B. C.

21. Draped bust of Antiochus VI diademed to r. Border of dots.

¹³This unusual form of the monogram may be a blunder.

¹⁴The modern cast of a genuine coin of Alexander now lost, referred to by Newell (N. N. M. No. 84, p. 2, note 4) is now in the Newell Bequest at the American Numismatic Society. It bears the date 166 of the Seleucid era, or 147/6 B. C., and the monogram of Ptolemais above $\overline{\Lambda}$.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY around, beginning above on r. Similar; in l. field, date ΛΘΞΡ; in r. field, ΠΠ, city monogram; between eagle's legs, Φ. Border of dots.

Æ. Phoenician tetradrachm. 13.86 gr. Museum of Jewish Antiquities, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Mrs. S. Ben-Dor, "Two New Seleucid Coins," *Kedem* II, 1945, from a Hoard offered for sale in Jerusalem. PLATE X, 21.

Dated Issue of year 171, Seleucid Era, 142/1 B. C.

21 A. Similar.

Rev. Similar; in l. field, date AOP; in r. field, ΠΠ, city monogram; between eagle's legs, Φ. Border of dots.

Æ. Phoenician tetradrachm. 13.19 gr. Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem, Mrs. S. Ben-Dor in "Some New Seleucid Coins," to appear in the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London.

TRYPHON, 142–139/8 B. C.

Dated Issue of year 3 of Tryphon's reign, 140–139/8 B. C.

22. Head of Tryphon diademed to r. Border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ around, beginning above on r., ΤΡΥΦΩΝΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ in two lines around beginning below on l. Similar; in r. field, ΠΠ, city monogram above date ΛΓ; between eagle's legs, ΜΕ. Border of dots.

Æ. Phoenician tetradrachm. 13.40 gr. Paris, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 136, no. 1056, Pl. XXI, 4, and N. N. M., *op. cit.*, Pl. I, B. PLATE X, 22.

23. Similar; bust draped.

Rev. Similar; in l. field, date ΛΓ; in r. field, ΠΠ, city monogram; between eagle's legs, Φ.

Æ. Phoenician tetradrachm. 13.86 gr. The Hague, Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen im Münzkabinet im Haag*, p. 81, no. 1, Pl. IX, 9, and *Zeit. f. Num.* III, 1876, p. 349, no. 1, Pl. IX, 9.

It will have been observed in the Catalogue that the mint-name of Ptolemais did not appear on the coinage until Alexander employed it on his Phoenician issues. On what numismatic evidence then did Mr. Newell attribute to this mint the coins which do not bear the city name? The clue was probably furnished by the Phoenician coins of Antiochus V, Nos. 16, 17. For, tetradrachms of Phoenician weight and the eagle reverse were struck only at the coastal cities, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, Ake-Ptolemais and Ascalon, each with its distinctive symbol, mint-letters or monogram; Berytus, a trident; Sidon, ΣΙΔΩ; Tyre, a monogram composed of TYP surmounted by a club; Ake, ΙΙΙ or ΙΙΤΟ, and a barley stalk; Ascalon, ΑΣ and a dove. At all of these cities except Ascalon, where apparently tetradrachms were not struck until later, Alexander issued Phoenician tetradrachms regularly after he usurped the throne of Syria under the patronage of Ptolemy VI Philometor of Egypt, whose influence accounts for the adoption of the Ptolemaic eagle as reverse type and the Phoenician weight standard.

Considering the problem from the standpoint of probability, Berytus was a relatively unimportant mint, whereas Tyre and Sidon were the most active just as they had been under Egyptian rule. Now, since the Attic tetradrachms of Tyre from Antiochus III to Demetrius I have been identified by Newell,¹⁵ the only probable mints left are Sidon or Ake. Let us now examine in greater detail the Phoenician tetradrachms of Alexander. Each mint employed other means besides the mint names or symbols to

¹⁵N. N. M., Nos. 10 and 73, and *Eastern Seleucid Mints*, pp. 200 ff.

differentiate the reverse types; at Berytus, the eagle stands on a palm branch; at Sidon, on nothing; at Tyre, on a prow; at Ake, on a thunderbolt. With respect to this detail, the 'eagle' tetradrachms of Antiochus V correspond to those of Ake. Just as Mr. Newell had demonstrated previously that Attic tetradrachms were struck at Tyre from Antiochus III to Demetrius I, so he has now proved that at Ake also, Attic (and Phoenician) tetradrachms were issued from Seleucus IV to Demetrius I. The recently discovered tetradrachms of Antiochus VI, Nos. 21 and 21A, just published by Mrs. Ben-Dor, have turned up at an opportune moment to fill the gap in the Phoenician eagle series from Balas to Tryphon.

The tetradrachms of Alexander, Antiochus VI and Tryphon and also the didrachms of Ptolemy VI struck in 148 i.e. 148/7 B.C. while he was exercising an informal protectorate over Syria,¹⁶ were all marked with the name of the mint. Also, a barley stalk was placed behind the eagle to differentiate these coins from other similar Phoenician issues. But after Tryphon this symbol disappeared from the coinage, although it appeared again in the Late Seleucid period¹⁷ on the very last issue, Antiochus IX, 107/6 B.C. Thus it was merely a secondary mint designation. In fact, the barley stalk was used at Antioch on the reverse of a royal bronze issue struck by Alexander, PLATE XI, 24, soon after he had made his entry into the capital. The types

¹⁶Svoronos, *Tὰ Νομίσματα τῶν Πτολεμαίων*, II. p. 244, Pl. XLVIII 19, 20. B. M. C., *Ptolemies*, Pl. XXXII, 8.

¹⁷N. N. M., No. 84, Pl. VI, 51.

proclaim his successful usurpation of the Syrian throne by force of arms—Head of the young king as a warrior in crested helmet, *rev.* Nike with victory emblems, wreath and palm branch. The magistrate's signature is \mathbb{A} , which appeared on the Ake coinage prior to Alexander. Possibly it represents the same official now working in Antioch. The barley symbol would then have to be interpreted here as his personal device.

The phenomenon of a monogram placed on the obverse constitutes a rare exception to the rule in Seleucid numismatics. At Ake, the monetary official \mathbb{A} appears at first on the reverse of the coins, PLATE VI, 1 and PLATE VII, 5, and then in Series II of Antiochus IV his signature is placed conspicuously on the obverse, and occasionally also on the reverse of the same coin, PLATES VII, 10, VIII, 11, 12, 14 and on No. 13. On the Attic and Phoenician coins of Antiochus V, this same official's monogram appears on the obverses PLATE IX, 15, 17, and No. 16, and also on the reverse of the Attic issue, PLATE IX, 15. Probably, during his tenure of office under Antiochus IV and V, this official occupied some higher position than that of the usual monetary magistrate.

There are several monograms which, though found in slightly varying forms, obviously designate the same official, e.g., the individuals signing themselves $\mathbb{A}\Gamma$ and $\mathbb{H}\mathbb{P}$.

In the same tray with the silver coins, are some royal bronze issues of Antiochus IV and Demetrius I of which some examples are here described. The

tickets accompanying some of the coins of Antiochus IV and the one specimen of Demetrius I are labelled AKE-PTOLEMAIS.

BRONZE OF AKE-PTOLEMAIS

ANTIOCHUS IV, 175-164 B. C.

A. Rev. Seated Apollo. Serrated edge

25. Head of Apollo laureate to r.; in l. field, Α. Border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Apollo seated to l. on omphalos; in l. field, aphlaston; in exergue, uncertain monogram.

Æ. 14 mm. 2.55 gr. A. N. S., Newell. Labelled AKE-PTOLEMAIS. PLATE XI, 25.

Other coins of this class, with Apollo reverse, sometimes have the head of Antiochus diademed to r.

B. Rev. Standing, veiled and draped goddess, facing. Serrated edge

26. Head of Antiochus IV diademed and radiate to r.; in l. field, same monogram. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on r., ANTIOXOY on l. Veiled goddess standing facing, in long chiton over which is a mantle, draped over her lower body and shoulders, with one end falling below her l. arm; r. resting on long scepter or torch; l. bent and held at her waist. Border of dots.

Æ. 14 mm. 2.60 gr. A. N. S., Newell. Labelled AKE-PTOLEMAIS. PLATE XI, 26.

27. Similar; same monogram.

Rev. Similar.

Æ. 14 mm. 2.72 gr. A. N. S., Newell. Labelled "AKE-PTOLEMAIS, Demeter, 2nd part of reign, 167-164." PLATE XI, 27.

DEMETRIUS I, 162-150 B. C.

28. Head of Demetrius I diademed to r.; in l. field, same monogram. Border of dots.

Rev. Similar.

Æ. 14 mm. 1.95 gr. A. N. S., Newell. Labelled AKE-PTOLEMAIS. PLATE XI, 28.

Similar coins of Demetrius II, first reign, 146-139 B. C., are known from the London and Paris collections, as noted below.

The veiled goddess standing facing and wearing a calathus (?) is of great interest as a type occurring rarely on Seleucid bronze coins. In the London and Paris catalogues, it is found under Antiochus IV,¹⁸ and under Demetrius II.¹⁹ This type, like many other deities on the extensive bronze coinages of Antiochus IV, municipal or royal, is a local one, and as such represents one of the chief deities worshipped at Ake. Since, as has been shown, the distinguishing emblem on the Phoenician issues of the mint of Ake was the barley stalk, the veiled goddess with calathus (?) and scepter or torch is probably a nature goddess, Demeter to the Greeks, Atargatis to the Orientals. On the coins of Damascus, her striking figure in archaic guise is found on tetradrachms struck by Demetrius III.²⁰ There, she is standing facing and veiled, and a stalk of barley rises behind each shoulder.²¹

¹⁸B. M. C. *Syria*, p. 38, no. 41, Pl. XII, 10 and *Rois de Syrie*, p. 74, nos. 572-573, Pl. XIII, 9.

¹⁹B. M. C. *Syria*, p. 61, no. 28, Pl. XVIII, 10 and *Rois de Syrie*, p. 122, no. 945, Pl. XIX, 12.

²⁰*Late Seleucid Mints*, pp. 84 ff., Pls. XIV, XV, cf. B. M. C. *Syria*, Pl. XXVI, 10 and *Rois de Syrie*, p. clxx-clxxi, Pl. XXVIII, 2 and 3.

²¹On bronze coins of Hieropolis of the imperial period, B. M. C. *Galatia*, p. 144, nos. 46, 47, Pl. XVII, 4, Atargatis, seated on a throne flanked by lions, holds two ears of barley in her left hand.

A close parallel to the goddess of Ake is the "Demeter" in the same pose and similarly draped but without calathus, resting her right hand on a long torch and holding ears of barley in her left hand, on a coin of Thyatira in Lydia.²² On Lydian coins, she appears with great frequency, named Demeter or Kore in the British Museum Catalogue, and often as a primitive cult-statue with a barley stalk in the field or flanked by a poppy and barley stalk. The widespread occurrence of this latter, *xoanon* form (Daldis, Gordus Iulia, Maeonia, Sardes, etc.), indicates that there was an important Lydian cult of the age-old nature goddess.

Her appearance on the coinage of Antiochus IV calls to mind with the king's "marriage" to the Syrian goddess, Atargatis, which, according to Tarn,²³ took place after the Egyptian campaigns, i.e., after 168 B. C. Note here that Mr. Newell has labelled the ticket of coin No. 27 "167-164." This odd behavior on the part of Antiochus was, Tarn thinks, "a perfectly serious measure. A god must have a divine consort." It was not, of course, the Atargatis of Ake whom Antiochus "married" but the goddess of the sacred city of Hieropolis in Cyrrhestica in northern Syria, who is described by Lucian in *De Dea Syria*. As Granius Licinianus (xxviii, p. 5, ed. Flemisch) put it, *se simulabat Hierapoli Dianam ducere uxorem*. In this passage, the goddess is called Diana, while in Lucian she is identified with Hera. To the Orientals in Syria, she was Atargatis, who

²²B. M. C. *Lydia*, Pl. XXXII, 8.

²³*The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 193.

was still worshipped at her wealthy temple in Hieropolis down to the end of the Fourth century of our era, and probably later.²⁴

At this city, originally called Bambyce and re-named Hieropolis by Seleucus I, who built a new temple there for Atargatis, Antiochus IV struck civic bronze coins with his radiate head and as reverse type, Zeus accompanied by a bull.²⁵ This "Zeus" is doubtless a Greek version of Hadad, the male counterpart of Atargatis. In his more Oriental form, he is represented standing between two recumbent bulls and holding a barley stalk, on the same group of tetradrachms struck by Demetrius III at Damascus as the Atargatis type mentioned above.²⁶

Thus it seems that there is some ground for recognizing in the Demeter of the bronze coins, the former Atargatis of Ake even though on these small pieces her attribute, the barley ears, is missing. If these coins date after 168 B. C., their issue would about coincide with that of the tetradrachms of Antioch,²⁷ and Ake-Ptolemais, PLATE VII, 10, bearing the seated Zeus Olympios, the type which Antiochus used to propagandize his incarnation as the supreme god, Zeus to the Greeks, Hadad (or Baal) to the Orientals.

AGNES BALDWIN BRETT

²⁴Cumont, *Études Syriennes*, p. 27, note 3.

²⁵*Rois de Syrie*, Pl. XIV, 9.

²⁶*Late Seleucid Mints*, Pl. XV, 132 and 134.

²⁷B. M. C. *Syria*, Pl. XI, 9. The cult of Demeter at Ake is proved by coins with Eleusinian types, Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes* I, p. 58; cf. Babelon, *Perses achéménides*, nos. 1554, 1559.

THE BRONZE COINS OF TIMARCHUS, 162-0 B. C.

(SEE PLATES XII AND XIII)

The Society has recently acquired an Octuple of Timarchus, the Satrap of Babylon and Media, who refused to recognize Demetrius I as king of Syria in 162 B. C., took the royal title in opposition to him and was conquered by him. As the Newell Collection already contained specimens of the Quadruple, Double and Unit, this is an appropriate time to summarize what is known of all the rare issues of this ephemeral monarch.

OCTUPLE

Head of Timarchus, r., diad. Circle of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ/TIMAPXOY Nike l., with palm in l. and wreath in r.

↑ 30.52 gr.

PLATE XII, 1.

Cf. B. M. C. *Seleucid Kings*, p. 50, no. 3, Pl. XV. 3; Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 89, no. 702, Pl. XV. 14, 29.4 gr.; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, Vol. I, Part II (Marischal College, Aberdeen), Pl. XX, no. 408, ↘ 37.92 gr.; Bartholomaei, *Zeitschrift für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, Vol. VI (1846), Pl. XI. 1 (From Persia). Apparently this is the denomination published in the Sale Catalogue of the *Collection Billoin*, Paris, 1886, no. 796, Pl. IV. The weight is not given, and the diameter of 30 mm. is small for an Octuple, but the large head seems designed for a broader flan and is the size of the Octuple head, distinctly larger than that on the Quadruple.

QUADRUPLE

Same types.

↘ 19.43 gr.

PLATE XII, 2.

Cf. B. M. C. *Seleucid Kings*, p. 50, no. 4; Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 90, nos. 703 f., Pl. XV. 15, 16, 16.25 gr., 15.55 gr. (the second with an oblong countermark of a similar Nike r.).¹

DOUBLE

Same types.

→ 12.82 gr.

PLATE XII, 3.

Cf. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 90, nos. 705, 705 bis, Pl. XV. 17, 4.95 gr., 9.95 gr. (the second with an oblong countermark of a similar Nike r.; N. B. its diameter is 22 mm., not 26 mm.); Yale Collection, ↙ 10.18 gr.; Bartholomaei, *op. cit.*, Pl. XI. 2; as Bartholomaei remarks, it is probably this type which is published by Mionnet, Vol. V, p. 130 = *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*, p. 115, no. 8, Pl. LVI. 6, attributed to Antiochus IV of Commagene, ANTIOXOY being read for TIMAPXOY.

UNIT

Same types.

↑ 3.09 gr.

PLATE XIII, 4.

I can find no published specimen of this denomination.

Before discussing this series it will be well to list the known coins of Timarchus in gold and silver.

GOLD STATER

Head of Timarchus, r., diad. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ/TIMAPXOY Galloping quadriga, r.

¹This is the piece published by Visconti, *Iconographie grecque*, Milan, 1824–1826, Vol. III, pp. 270–273, Pl. IX, 6. Babelon, p. cxvi, note 2, refers to Visconti, Vol. III, p. 189, and Mionnet, Vol. V, p. 709 (presumably Babelon's source) quotes Visconti, Vol. III, p. 189, Pl. LI, no. 17. If this is not a mere error, it may refer to an edition not available to me. Visconti publishes only one coin of Timarchus, from the "bibliothèque impériale."

BRONZE COINS OF TIMARCHUS 39

8.5 gr. Acquired by Prokesch-Osten from Bagdad and published by him, *Revue Numismatique*, Ninth Series, Vol. V (1860), pp. 277 f., Pl. XII. 14. In 1875 it passed to the Königliche Münzkabinet in Berlin, and was published again by Friedlaender and von Sallet, *Das Königliche Münzkabinet*, Berlin, 1877, p. 140, no. 482.

TETRADRACHM

Head of Timarchus, r., helmeted. Fillet border.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ/TIMAPXOY The Dioscuri charging r.

← 16.59 gr. From Persia. Hill, "Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum in 1913," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, Vol. XIV (1914), p. 108, no. 26, Pl. VIII. 10. Cf. E. F. Weber Collection, Hirsch *Cat.* XXI, Munich, 1908, no. 4078 = Pozzi Collection, Naville *Cat.*, Geneva, 1920, p. 165, no. 2977. Another specimen was used as the flan for a tetradrachm of Demetrius I and Laodice. B. M. C. *Seleucid Kings*, p. 50, no. 2, Pl. XV. 2, 251.6 grains = 16.3 gr.

DRACHM

Head of Timarchus, r., diad. Border of dots.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ TIMAPXOY Artemis r., holding bow and drawing arrow from quiver.

60.3 grain = 3.9 gr. B. M. C. *Seleucid Kings*, p. 50, no. 1, Pl. XXVIII. 6.

The drachm and the two bronzes in the British Museum Catalogue are listed as minted in Babylon, and Babelon (*op. cit.*, p. cxvi) remarks that all the coins of Timarchus may have been struck at his capital, Babylon. There appears to be no other published conjecture as to the mint. There is no

monogram on any of the coins that might be of service. Newell had labelled his specimens SELEUCIA AD TIGRIM, accepting Babelon's suggestion (since the royal mint was at Seleucia and not at Babylon), but later, undoubtedly in connection with the preparation of his *Eastern Seleucid Mints*, he struck out this label and removed the coins to the tray containing issues of Ecbatana. In this he showed his usual independence and acumen, and there can be no doubt that his revised opinion was right. The bronze series of Timarchus parallels and is the obvious successor to that of Antiochus III struck at Ecbatana between 209 and 205 B. C., the Octuple, (PLATE XIII, 5) Quadruple, Double and Unit of which he publishes, *Eastern Seleucid Mints*, pp. 212 f., nos. 610-613, Pls. XLV. 10-12, XLVI. 1-3. The fabric is identical, the treatment of the portrait similar and the Nike on the reverse the same. In all respects the coinage of Timarchus is inferior, and the consistent absence of symbols or monograms on his issues, most unusual in Seleucid history, deprives us of one of the normal means of identification, yet the attribution to Ecbatana may be considered certain. Whether the gold and silver is the product of the same mint is a question the answer to which would go beyond the limits of this note. But the fact that Ecbatana did serve him has its place in the little that we can recover of Timarchus' career.

The evidence from the ancient authors is contained in Polybius (XXVIII. 1 and XXXIII. 15) Diodorus Siculus⁷⁴ (Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Vol. II, pp. xi f.), Pompeius Trogus (*Prol.* XXXIV) and Appian (*Syr.* 45 and 47). Their com-

bined testimony amounts to this: Timarchus and Heracleides, sons of Heracleides, were Milesians, presumably related to that Timarchus who had been tyrant of Miletus in the days of Antiochus II. At least they were persons of consequence in that city, for an inscription (Wiegand, *Milet*, Heft II, Berlin, 1908, pp. 95–99) records that they built the Senate House of Miletus in behalf of Antiochus IV with whom they had great influence. He repeatedly used our Timarchus as ambassador to the Senate at Rome, where the form of diplomacy most effective and best understood was bribery, and made him Satrap of Babylon, which he misgoverned, according to Ap-
pian; Heracleides served the king as minister of finance. After the death of Antiochus IV in 164 his young son Antiochus succeeded to the throne but, after two years, was put out of the way by his uncle, Demetrius I, who had escaped from Rome, where he had been a hostage. The Senate, offended at his taking the law into his own hands, gave ear to kings and satraps who came to accuse him, of whom the chief was Timarchus, acting through his brother as intermediary. The Senate passed a decree in Timarchus' favor, authorizing his kingship, though unfortunately the text is corrupt, and we cannot tell what were the conditions or extent of his rule. He raised an army, made alliance with Artaxias of Armenia and took possession of his kingdom. Trogus calls him king of the Medes. But Demetrius was too strong for him; the usurper was conquered and killed and Demetrius was hailed as Savior by the Mesopotamians. Heracleides escaped with his life and later had his revenge, for he induced the

Senate to recognize as the son of Antiochus IV the pretender Alexander Balas, at whose hands Demetrius was slain in 150 B.C.

Tarn, whose great work *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1938) has shed so much light on the by-ways of Seleucid history, has evolved the theory that there was an alliance between Antiochus IV and Eucratides of Bactria, his cousin, one important object of which was the crushing of Parthia which lay between them. Antiochus' successor in this alliance was not Demetrius but Timarchus. Hence the types of tetradrachms: the helmeted head and the charging Dioscuri, borrowed directly from the silver of Eucratides (B. M. C. *Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India*, Pl. V. 7, 8). The very title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ "Great King," never borne by Seleucid princes, is taken from Eucratides and, as on his tetradrachms, is placed in a semicircle at the top of those of Timarchus. As Bactria and Media were allied, the interests of Syria and Parthia coincided, and Tarn (p. 219) has ingeniously used the evidence of Justin XLI. 6, 6 and 7 to prove that Mithradates of Parthia fell upon Timarchus and in protracted warfare conquered Media before Demetrius had come to grips with his revolting satrap. It is clear, however, that it was Demetrius who finished the war (the Parthian king by then was recovering provinces from Bactria) and that he was credited with having saved them by the Babylonians. The title Soter was assumed about 160 B. C.

The numismatic evidence fits very well with all this. Alliance with Armenia and Bactria, possession of Media, and hostility to Parthia would make

Ecbatana an obvious mint to use, and the little that we know suggests that this was Timarchus' real capital. We have Appian's explicit statement that he was Satrap of Babylon, that he oppressed the Babylonians and that they rejoiced in his downfall, but this does not mean that Babylon was the seat of his independent rule. If it was so, it was for a very short period. Little weight can be given to the fact that none of his coins have been found at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. On the other hand, McDowell has published two seal impressions (*Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris*, Ann Arbor, 1935, Pl. I, 10 and 11) of portraits which he identified as Timarchus and Heracleides, a very significant identification if correct. But I think that Tarn (Appendix 8, pp. 467 f.) has shown the unlikelihood of this conjecture, and the cuneiform inscriptions give the clearest evidence of the slightness of Timarchus' hold on Babylonia. Parker and Dubberstein (*Babylonian Chronology 626 B. C.—A. D. 45*, Chicago, 1942) record the earliest Babylonian date for Demetrius as May 14, 161, the latest for Antiochus as October 17, 162. But an unpublished tablet in the Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets at Yale has a date for Antiochus of Tebetu 15, Year 150, which is January 11, 161 B. C.² If Timarchus was king in Babylon, therefore, it was only from January 11 to May 14 at the very longest. Doubtless it was the struggle with Mithradates that really broke his power. Nevertheless, for a time at least, it was Demetrius who occupied Media with its mint city of

²I am indebted to my colleague Professor Albrecht Goetze for this information.

Ecbatana. It may have been there that he overstruck the tetradrachm of his vanquished rival with his own types (B. M. C. *Seleucid Kings*, Pl. XV. 2); it was doubtless there that he put on the bronze his countermark, for which he wittily chose a Nike facing the other way! And it was certainly there that he struck bronze of his own, specimens of which are in the Newell Collection among the coins of Ecbatana (Double, PLATE XIII, 6).

Whether the coins of Mithradates of Class I (B. M. C. *Parthia*, pp. 6–9) are the product of Media, as Tarn and Wroth believe, or of Bactria, as held by Newell, Gardner and de Morgan, is a question which would lead too far afield.

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

A MEDALLION OF CARACALLA

(SEE PLATES XIV–XV)

In the third century A. D. there regularly appeared on the coinage of the Roman Emperor's heir a kind of standard device which showed that his position as destined successor to the Emperor was associated with religious office and the right to perform cult acts for the state. The representation on Roman coinage of certain utensils employed in cult goes back to the Republic. After having been used in various forms by men with pretensions to power during the first century B. C., this type of reverse appeared on the coinage of the Emperor and sometimes on coinage struck for his presumable successor. But it was not until the end of the second century A. D. and the beginning of the third that the type was almost wholly restricted to the heir, when, in spite of the instability of the succession, the dynastic principle took root as often as it could. In this period the use of the sacred utensils on the coinage became the prerogative of a destined heir of the Emperor's own blood, that is his own, and not an adopted son. When the Museum of the American Numismatic Society acquired a bronze medallion of the young Caesar Caracalla, bearing on its reverse the symbols of state cult, the design and legend of this type seemed worthy of special study.

Bust of Caracalla, wearing paludamentum, to r.
M AVRELIVS AN · TONINVS CAES.

Rev. Lituus l., knife l., patera, urceus l., simpulum l., aspergillum r., all on exergual line. SEVERI AVG PII FIL above, around rim. 38 mm. 59.45 grams. PLATE XIV, no. 1.

Ex Evans Coll., Naville Sale Cat. XVII, Oct. 3, 1934, lot 1576. Cohen, *Méd. Imp.* vol. IV (Paris, 1884), no. 584. Gneecchi, *I Medaglioni Romani*, (Milan, 1912), vol. II, p. 77, no. 6. Cf. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (*Num. Stud.* no. 5, The American Numismatic Society, New York, 1944), pp. 166 and 204.

Through the circumstance that Caracalla is celebrated as Caesar on the obverse, this bronze medallion is to be dated in the period 196–198 A. D. For since Caracalla became Caesar in 196¹ and Augustus early in 198,² our medallion must fall within those years. It is probable that the medallions of this type and similar coins of Caracalla were struck to commemorate his elevation to the rank of Caesar; hence they are more likely to date in the year 196 than later.

While the obverse legend celebrates Caracalla's new position as Caesar, the reverse legend emphasizes his relationship to the Emperor, the fact that he was the son of Severus. This specific reference to blood relationship must have been deliberate, since Severus' first Caesar, Albinus, was not a relative, but a rival general who finally took up arms against the Emperor. The preciseness of the reverse legend (SEVERI AVG

¹J. Hasebrock, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus*, Heidelberg, 1921, pp. 86–93; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, s. v. "Aurelius," no. 46, col. 2440.

²R. O. Fink in *Yale Classical Studies*, vol. VII (1940), "The *Feriale Duranum*," pp. 79–81.

PII FIL), in contrast to the more general PIETAS AVG of the Antonines, shows that particular meaning was intended for this legend.³ Emphasis on the blood relation between the Caesar and the Emperor brings out clearly the policy of dynastic succession which Severus was beginning to put into practice, following the example of M. Aurelius in making his son Commodus his successor. Part of the Emperor's policy looking toward dynastic succession was the establishment of a connection with the Antonines by naming himself "Pius" and Caracalla "M. Aurelius Antoninus," and by securing the deification of Commodus.⁴ The act recorded on our medallion, the elevation of Caracalla to the rank of Caesar, was a step forward in the establishment of a dynasty. It was not long before Caracalla became "Imperator Destinatus."⁵ Of the establishment of the dynastic principle by Severus our medallion is a handsome memorial. It is not surprising that the influence of its reverse type on numismatic design lasted long into the third century. How this influence is attested by the coinages of succeeding Caesars we shall now discover.

From the beginning of the Empire the priestly utensils were occasionally represented on coins,

³ An imperial legend of this sort does not, of course, always indicate a blood relation; the fact that here we are dealing with such a relationship gives special significance to the choice of SEVERI AVG PII FIL instead of the Antonine PIETAS AVG. For an early example of "Pietas" (legend and type) as a symbol of the legitimization of a new reign (Galba's), see Josef Liegle, "Pietas," in *Zeit. f. Num.* vol. XLII (1932-1935), p. 65.

⁴ Hasebroeck, *op. cit.* pp. 90-92; 105.

⁵ In 197 A. D. Hasebroeck, *op. cit.* pp. 105-106. On coins with the legend "Destinato Imperat" Caracalla has a different series of religious symbols: lituus, apex, bucranium, simpulum. On the obverse his title adds "Pontif." to "Caes."

either accompanying the main type, or themselves forming the main type, in connection with the prospective heir to the principate.⁶ This was an extension of their use on coins by the Emperor himself, on whose issues, imperial and local, they appeared in widely scattered parts of the Empire.⁷ Vespasian, Nerva, and Hadrian seem to have followed a fixed design in the arrangement of the simpulum, aspergillum, urceus, and lituus on a model traceable to Caesar and Augustus.⁸ The coins of Antoninus Pius show variant types,⁹ none of which conforms to the original pattern; and one of these types (Mattingly, BMC, vol. IV, Pl. 2, no. 16) was taken as the design for the coins which were struck for M. Aurelius as Caesar.¹⁰ With these issues of M. Aurelius, we have the beginning of a convention which associates the Caesar with this reverse type. From this time, and throughout the third century, the priestly utensils type with the legend PIETAS

⁶For example, on the imperial coinage, the famous type of C. and L. Caesar, with the lituus and simpulum as symbols above their figures, (H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. I, London, 1923, pp. 88-91, nos. 513 ff.), and the type composed of lituus, simpulum, tripod, and patera on the coinage of the young Nero (*op. cit.* p. 176, nos. 84-88) after a type by the moneyers of Augustus (*op. cit.* pp. 20 and 24).

⁷We cannot concern ourselves here with the local mints under the Empire where the symbols were used. For a list of types on the republican and imperial coinage, see Mattingly, *op. cit.* vol. III, pp. xl-xliii.

⁸Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, London, 1910, vol. II, p. 576, nos. 21-25; pp. 414-415, nos. 113-114, 116-118. Vespasian: Mattingly, *op. cit.* vol. II, London, 1930, pp. 8-9, nos. 48-53; p. 26, no. 144; vol. III, London, 1936, p. 128 note. Nerva: Mattingly, *op. cit.* vol. III, p. 4 note; pp. 8, 9, 11; p. 107, note to no. 530. Hadrian: *op. cit.* p. 296; this type, and symbols in reverse order, p. 304.

⁹Mattingly, *op. cit.* vol. IV, London, 1940, pp. 13-14, nos. 68-72; p. 15, no. 80; pp. 17-18, nos. 90-94; pp. 20-21, nos. 118-123. p. 222, no. 1379.

¹⁰*Op. cit.* p. 42, nos. 276-279; p. 226, nos. 1405-1406; p. 228, nos. 1411-1415. Variations occur on Æ in position or direction of the simpulum and knife.

AVG, PIETAS AVGG, or PIETAS AVGVSTORVM, belonged to the Caesar.¹¹ The form of the design itself was conventionalized in the third century, after Caracalla, following the design of our medallion type and similar coin types.

Gold, silver, and bronze of M. Aurelius were struck with a single reverse design, although some pieces of bronze show variation in detail (PLATE XIV, nos. 4, 5; cf. note 10). Commodus adhered to the general design. With the advent of Caracalla as Caesar there is a clean break in the design—the whole arrangement of the utensils is recast along the lines of our medallion; at the same time on Caracalla's silver the patera which appears on the gold and bronze (including medallions) is omitted (PLATE XIV, no. 2). And this omission itself sets a precedent for much of the silver of the succeeding Caesars. Evidence for Geta is slight; but we have the utensils

¹¹A few utensils types of Augusti are reported: Gordian II? (Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. IV, 2, London, 1938, p. 162, no. 15 = Hess Sale, May, 1932, no. 1310 (form of some utensils suspect); no. 16 = C. 3); Gallienus (Cohen, no. 789, Musée Tiepolo); Quintillus (Cohen, no. 53, Vienna); Tetricus I (Cohen, nos. 117, 118, Paris; and 120, de Witte); Carinus as Augustus (Mattingly and Sydenham, *op. cit.* vol. V, 2, p. 172, no. 266 = C. 77). A noteworthy instance of the use of the utensils type by Augusti occurred at the colony of Pisidian Antioch, on coins of Gordian III and Philip II. A specimen of Gordian is listed in the British Museum Catalogue (no. 106), and a specimen of Philip is in the A.N.S. (Newell) Collection. Since Gordian and Philip had the sacred instruments on their coins as Caesars, the appearance of the type on the local coinage under them is comprehensible. But the design employed at Antioch for these Augusti is modelled on an arrangement of M. Aurelius Caesar rather than on Caracalla's pattern. By the time of Trajan Decius, however, on whose coins at Antioch the type appears (a specimen is in the A. N. S. (Newell) Collection), Caracalla's design was known at this mint. From these facts we are able to make note of a time lag between the use of a new design at the mint in Rome, and its appearance in another part of the empire. Why the type appeared on the coins of Trajan Decius, who was never Caesar during the lifetime of a predecessor, is not clear: but, as we have just noted, there are a few cases in the third century of the utensils type of an Augustus even on the imperial coinage.

type on his silver, and here we observe a difference in detail from Caracalla's silver design in that the urceus turns to the right instead of to the left (PLATE XIV, no. 3). For some reason the engravers made this distinction between the dies of the brothers. From this point until we come to Philip II and the sons of Trajan Decius—Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian—there is slavish imitation of the designs of Caracalla (PLATE XV, nos. 6–9). In general Philip seems to reverse the order and direction of the utensils and substitutes knife for patera on the silver. Herennius reverses Caracalla's silver order and in a peculiar variant places aspergillum on simpulum and lituus on patera (PLATE XV, nos. 10–11). So far as I can tell Herennius' brother Hostilian follows his pattern, except that he puts aspergillum and simpulum in reverse order, another change of detail where brothers are involved.

The family of Gallienus returned to Caracalla's design, but its opposite survives, too. On the antoninianus Valerian Caesar used the *N* and *Æ* design of Caracalla, i.e., including the patera (PLATE XV, no. 12), but he also used the reverse of this scheme with slight variation in detail. Saloninus, too, used both schemes, but he seems to have preferred the order of Caracalla. The types listed under his name in Cohen at first appear hopelessly complicated, but the confusion may be only apparent. First of all, the types of Saloninus must be separated from those of Valerian Caesar, as Voetter and Webb have done.¹² The types of both princes which bear

¹²O. Voetter, "Valerianus junior und Saloninus," in *Num. Zeitschr.* vol. XLI, 1908 (N. F. vol. I), pp. 87–94; P. H. Webb in Mattingly and Sydenham's *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. V, 1, pp. 118, 120, and pp. 123–126.

PIETAS AVGG or AVGVSTORVM follow either Caracalla's order or its reverse, while coins of Saloninus bearing PIETAS AVG seem to follow the original scheme of Caracalla (PLATE XV, no. 13). As the century draws to a close the types we have been discussing appear on the coins of the Caesars Tetricus and Carinus (PLATE XV, nos. 14, 15). We illustrate a specimen of Carinus which reproduces exactly the design which first appeared on the medallions and coins of Caracalla (PLATE XV, no. 15).¹³ Note the tiny patera between the knife and urceus.

It remains for us to speak in general of the reverse legends accompanying the types. From the very introduction of priestly utensils as a type on the Roman coinage the notion of PIETAS was present.¹⁴ And in the third century the relation between the type and PIETAS in the sense of dynastic obligation to the state and the gods that was being fulfilled, became a convention on the coinage, an inheritance from the Antonines, who first combined the type and legend on the Caesar's coins. For after the Severi,

¹³The evidence for the above analysis was taken from coins or reproductions and checked with descriptions with and without illustrations. Unillustrated descriptions in most cases cannot be regarded as sufficiently precise for a study of this sort. Variations seen in photographs or drawings are the following:

M. Aurelius Æ: MED (Gn. vol. III, Pl. 160, no. 7) and *Sest.* (BMC, vol. IV, Pl. 33, no. 14), simpulum r. *Dup.* or *As* (BMC, vol. IV, Pl. 34, no. 2), simpulum r. aspergillum l. urceus r. lituus r. knife l. See also BMC, vol. IV, p. 226, note on 1405.

Caracalla A: "axe" on p. 212, no. 3, in Mattingly & Sydenham, vol. IV, 1 is clearly an error for "knife" (see Pl. XI, 8).

Maximus Æ: Cohen, no. 9 (drawing). Cf. Mattingly & Sydenham, vol. IV, 2, p. 155, note 6.

Gordian Caes. A: Cohen 182, patera included (drawing).

¹⁴Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, London, 1910, vol. II, pp. 357-358, nos. 47-51; p. 357, note 2; S. L. Cesano, "I fasti della Repubblica Romana sulla moneta di Roma," in *Studi di Numismatica*, vol. I, fasc. 2 (Rome, 1942), p. 236 and figs. 136, 137. For a general discussion of "Pietas" see the article by Josef Liegle in *Zeit. f. Num.* vol. XLII (1932-1935), pp. 59-100.

who departed from the general formula used by that family (PIETAS AVG), the Antonine formula was renewed and maintained. To illustrate this we present a table, beginning with M. Aurelius.

LEGENDS WITH PRIESTLY UTENSILS TYPES

| Caesars | <i>N</i> | <i>AR</i> | <i>Æ</i> |
|---|---------------------------|---|---|
| M. Aurelius | PIETAS AVG | PIETAS AVG | PIETAS AVG |
| Commodus | | PIETAS AVG | PIETAS AVG |
| Caracalla | SEVERI AVG PII FIL | SEVERI AVG PII FIL | SEVERI AVG PII FIL (Coins) SEVERI AVG PII FIL (Med.) |
| Geta (2 Augusti) | SEVERI PII AVG FIL | SEVERI PII AVG FIL | SEVERI PII AVG FIL |
| Sev. Alex. | | PIETAS AVG | PIETAS AVG |
| Maximus | | PIETAS AVG | PIETAS AVG |
| Gordian Caes. (2 Augusti) | | PIETAS AVGG | PIETAS AVGG (cf. note 17) |
| Phil. Caes. | PIETAS AVGG | PIETAS AVGVSTOR | PIETAS AVGG |
| Herenn. Etrusc. | | PIETAS AVGVSTORVM | PIETAS AVGVSTORVM |
| Hostilian (2 Augusti?) | PIETAS AVG | PIETAS AVGVSTORVM | PIETAS AVGVSTORVM |
| Volusian (2 Augusti) | PIETAS AVGG | | |
| Valerian Caes. (2 Augusti) | | PIETAS AVGG | |
| Saloninus (2 Augusti; 1 Augustus) | PIETAS AVGG PIETAS AVG | PIETAS AVGG PIETAS AVG | PIETAS AVGVSTORVM PIETAS AVGG |
| Tetricus Caes. | | PIETAS AVGG PIETAS AVGVSTO PIETAS AVGVSTOR | |
| Carinus | | PIETAS AVGG | |
| | | | |

First of all, it will be noted that the Antonines (M. Aurelius and Commodus) used PIETAS AVG, while Caracalla's pieces depart from this formula in order to make the filial relation (which is *implied* in the broader PIETAS AVG) very specific: SEVERI AVG PII FIL. Consideration of the dynastic problem undoubtedly controlled this innovation in the legend, for though "Pius" was conferred on the Emperor in 195 A. D., he used it on his own coins only at a later date.¹⁵ Geta followed his brother's example with slight variation suited to the coinage of the period when he became Caesar: SEVERI PII AVG FIL.¹⁶

After Caracalla and Geta the utensils types were once more accompanied by the legend PIETAS AVG or its variants, though the design of the types followed the model set by the medallions and coinage of Caracalla. The result was that throughout the third century an older legend was combined with the design of the types of Caracalla or that design with its elements in reversed order. The young Caesars who followed the Severi were themselves led by circumstances to modify the legend, for from the time of the youngest Gordian, who was Caesar under two Augusti, the Caesar placed PIETAS AVGG or AVGVSTORVM with his types of the priestly symbols.

For the coinage in general a complete understanding of the reverse legends is dependent on an analysis of them in relation to reign, type and to mint where

¹⁵Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. IV, 1, London, 1936, pp. 114 ff., 163, 194 ff. In papyri and inscriptions "Pius" occurs earlier in Severus' title: J. Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus*, Heidelberg, 1921, p. 92, note 1.

¹⁶Cf. the coinage of Severus referred to in note 15.

the last can be established with assurance. There appears to have been precise and consistent use of the plural AVGG under Balbinus and Pupienus with Gordian as Caesar, and of the singular AVG under Gordian as Augustus. The legend on our reverse type, PIETAS AVGG is consistent with the reverse legends of Gordian Caesar in general.¹⁷ On the coins of Philip Caesar PIETAS AVGVSTORVM appears as well as PIETAS AVGG. After Gordian PIETAS AVGG or AVGVSTORVM cannot always have reference to two Emperors, since there were not always two Augusti. The reverse legends PIETAS AVGG and AVGVSTORVM for Philip as Caesar and AVGVSTORVM for Herennius Caesar refer to Emperor and Empress, like many CONCORDIA AVGG (AVGVSTORVM) types; to Emperor and Caesar; or in the case of AVGVSTORVM to all three. Medallions of the period bearing imperial portraits on obverse and reverse with the legends CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM and PIETAS AVGVSTORVM seem to lend themselves to these several interpretations.

The appearance of PIETAS AVG on some utensils types of Saloninus is difficult to explain, for it is decidedly unorthodox, since these types of Valerian

¹⁷Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, vol. V, pp. 7 ff. Considering the general preciseness of the legends on the coins of Gordian III and the two Augusti who preceded him, there seems to be no reason, without the support of a more reliable source than is indicated for Cohen no. 184 (cf. 183) for accepting the PIETAS AVG read on this coin. Gordian became Caesar at the time Pupienus and Balbinus were made Augusti. Only in case one of the two Augusti died before the other, would PIETAS AVG be correct, for at this time the usage of AVGG was meticulously maintained. Now Pupienus and Balbinus died together at the hands of the praetorians, so that at no moment during Gordian's Caesarship was there a single Augustus. A die error is possible, but a misreading of the coin seems more likely.

Caesar and Saloninus generally bear PIETAS AVGG. If the distinction between AVGG and AVG indicates a distinction between the joint reign of Valerian I and Gallienus on the one hand, and the sole reign of Gallienus on the other, Saloninus can be said to have used both Caracalla's original design, and its opposite (the elements in reverse order) during the joint reign of his grandfather and father, and Caracalla's design alone during the short period of his life in the sole reign of his father. Whether Saloninus survived Valerian I long enough to use AVG on his reverses with reference to the sole reign can well be questioned;¹⁸ but if this is not the meaning of the reverse legend PIETAS AVG, which appears on the coinage assigned to Lugdunum by Voetter and Webb,¹⁹ we shall have to interpret AVG as AVG(usta) or AVG(ustorum), or revert to the explanation that PIETAS AVG is simply an error on the part of the mint, possibly due to the influence of an old model going back to a period when PIETAS AVG was the appropriate legend.

When we come to Tetricus Caesar and Carinus Caesar we are faced again—as in the case of Philip

¹⁸For the date of Saloninus' death and the end of the reign of Valerian I, see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, s. v. "Licinius," no. 84 (Gallienus), col. 356; no. 46 (Saloninus), col. 239; no. 173 (Valerian I), col. 493; and the three articles in *Num. Zeit.* vol. XLI (N. F. vol. I), 1908: "Valerianus junior und Saloninus," by O. Voetter, pp. 78–101; "Valerianus der Juengere und Saloninus," pp. 102–114, by W. Kubitschek; and "Nochmals die Soehne des Gallienus," pp. 115–120, by K. Regling.

¹⁹O. Voetter, *op. cit.* p. 94; P. H. Webb, in Mattingly and Sydenham's *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, Vol. V, 1, p. 123, no. 2; p. 125, no. 16; p. 124, no. 9. Voetter apparently assigns Cohen 40 (indicated by Cohen as a medallion) to Lugdunum as an *aureus*. Webb assigns Cohen 40 to Lugdunum as an *aureus*, to Rome as a gold medallion. There is also billon with the legend PIETAS AVG (Voetter, p. 94), a specimen of which is in the E. T. Newell Collection of the American Numismatic Society (PLATE XV, no. 13).

Caesar and Herennius Etruscus—with the use of AVGG and AVGVSTORVM when there was but one Augustus. Since reverse legends seem to center more and more about the Emperor, and reference to a general concept including *Divi* is unlikely,²⁰ AVGG and AVGVSTORVM must in these cases refer to the Emperor together with other members of his family, perhaps to Emperor and Caesar. There is indeed some evidence that AVGVSTORVM could refer to Emperor and Caesar.²¹ The narrow margin separating the two ranks appears in the readiness with which Caesars after Gordian attained the rank of Augustus; and it is illustrated in the coinage of Carinus, which shows that the utensils type of this Caesar was carried over into his reign as Augustus.²²

ALINE ABAECHERLI BOYCE

²⁰I am not certain what meaning Liegle, *Zeit. f. Num.* Vol. XLII (1932–1935), p. 68, wishes to impute to “Augusti.”

²¹Maximinus and Maximus: Mattingly and Sydenham, *op. cit.* vol. IV, 2, p. 147, no. 89 (Pl. XI, no. 4), *sestertius*. Cf. the medallions on pp. 151–152, nos. 119–120 (Gnecchi, *op. cit.* vol. II, Pl. 102, nos. 7 and 8). The reverse of no. 120 bears the legend VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM, while the obverses of both 119 and 120 call Maximinus and Maximus *Augusti*. The medallions may have been struck on the theory that Maximus would shortly be elevated to the rank of Augustus.

²²Mattingly and Sydenham, *op. cit.* vol. V, 2, p. 172 no. 266; Cohen 77.

KEY TO PLATES XIV-XV

1. CARACALLA. Æ Medallion. A. N. S.
2. CARACALLA. Denarius. A. N. S. (Newell).
3. GETA. Denarius. A. N. S. (Newell).
4. M. AURELIUS. Dupondius or As. A. N. S. (Newell).
5. M. AURELIUS. Sestertius. A. N. S. (Newell).
6. SEVERUS ALEXANDER. Denarius. A. N. S. (Newell).
7. MAXIMUS. Sestertius. A. N. S. (Newell).
8. GORDIAN CAES. Sestertius. A. N. S. (Newell).
9. GORDIAN CAES. Denarius. A. N. S. (Newell).
10. HERENNIUS ETRUSCUS. Antoninianus. A. N. S.
11. HERENNIUS ETRUSCUS. Antoninianus. A. N. S.
12. VALERIAN CAES. Antoninianus. A. N. S. (Newell).
13. SALONINUS. Antoninianus. A. N. S. (Newell).
14. TETRICUS CAES. Antoninianus. A. N. S. (Newell).
15. CARINUS. Antoninianus. A. N. S. (Newell).

DETERMINATION OF ROMAN GOLD COIN STANDARDS BY USE OF THE CARAT

In *Gold and Silver Coin Standards of the Roman Empire* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 94) an attempt was made to show the changing standards used in the coinage of gold. Since the publication of that monograph the author has become convinced that, in studies of Roman coin standards, computations in terms of weights used by the Romans themselves would produce more accurate and satisfactory results than have been reached by defining the standards in terms of grains or grammes. Tables built on modern weights do not correctly indicate the skill of the Roman mint master. It is obvious that he used neither the grain nor the gramme; he used his own system of weights, and for gold the smallest of his units, the carat, or the siliqua, to use its Latin name. Six of these units were equivalent to a Roman scruple and 1728 to a Roman pound.

The desirability of using Roman weights may be graphically shown by the following table in which a portion of Table B in *Gold and Silver Coin Standards* (pp. 18–19) has been recast in terms of carats.¹ The vertical columns represent aurei struck in the period or at the place indicated at the tops of the columns; horizontally is given the number of aurei of the weight specified at the left.

¹For Trebonianus and Volusianus the table on pp. 148–149 of the monograph, which separates the laureate and radiate heads, has been used.

| Carats | No. of aurei pound | Sept. Sev. | Caracalla | | Macri- nus | Elagabalus | | Sev. Alex. | Gor- dian | Phil- ip | Traj. Dec. | Trebonianus & Volusian | |
|--------|--------------------------|---------------|-----------|--------|---------------|------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|---------------------------|------|
| | | | 211/15 | 216/17 | | Rome | An- tioch | | | | | Laur. | Rad. |
| over | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 40 | | 4 | 8 | | 1 | | 2 | | | | 1 | | |
| 40 | | 70 | 26 | | 6 | | 9 | | | | | | |
| 39 | | 266 | 13 | 1 | 37 | | 12 | | | 2 | | | |
| 38 | 45 | 157 | 4 | | 24 | | 3 | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| 37 | | 22 | 2 | 4 | 3 | | 1 | | | | | | |
| 36 | | 4 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 5 | | | | | | | |
| 35 | 50 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 8 | | | | | | | |
| 34 | | 2 | 1 | | 5 | 17 | | | | | | | |
| 33 | | | 1 | | 1 | 8 | | | | | | | |
| 32 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 31 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 30 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 29 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 28 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 27 | 64 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 26 | 66 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 25 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 24 | 72 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | 90 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 19 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 18 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 17 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 16 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 14 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

The table indicates clearly that Septimius, Caracalla (before the reform), Macrinus and Elagabalus (at the Antioch Mint) were coining aurei on the basis of 45 to the pound and that Caracalla (after the reform), Elagabalus (at the Rome mint) and Alexander were coining at 50 to the pound.

In *Gold and Silver Coin Standards* (p. 18) the accuracy of minting was shown by noting the percentage of coins that fell within a range of two grains either side of the point of concentration. This assumed that coins struck within a total range of five grains or 0.324 grammes were within the limits of tolerance permissible in ordinary small commercial transactions. But the Roman, if he permitted any tolerance in weights, would express that leeway in carats. The following table assumes a tolerance of one carat either side of the point of concentration or a total spread of 0.567 grammes for coins that would pass at par in ordinary transactions. Because this spread is greater than the one assumed in the five grain range, more coins obviously can be included. To permit comparison, the older figures are repeated.

COMPARATIVE ACCURACY OF COINAGE

| | Based on Grains | Based on Carats |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Septimius Severus ² | 75.1% | 93.9% |
| Caracalla (Early)..... | 65.5% | 81.0% |
| Caracalla (Late)..... | 57.1% | 85.7% |
| Macrinus..... | 69.9% | 80.7% |
| Elagabalus (Rome)..... | | 78.8% |
| Elagabalus (Antioch)..... | 74.1% | 88.8% |
| Severus Alexander..... | | 71.1% |

²On page 18 of *Gold and Silver Coin Standards* the line for Septimius should be corrected to read: point of concentration, 111; number at this point, 133; per cent -1 to +1, 55.6; per cent -2 to +2, 75.1.

The aurei of Septimius Severus were struck at various mints over a period of about nineteen years. The uniformity of the coinage indicates both high technical skill on the part of the workmen and effective control by the central government.

Macrinus seems to have struck the bulk of his gold at 45 to the pound, thus reversing the policy of Caracalla, though the five aurei weighing 33 carats indicate coinage at 50 to the pound. The first definite sign of the weakening of adherence to standards is to be seen under Alexander, though it is clear that the objective was still 50 to the pound.

With Gordian III there is a complete break with the former mint practice. It is difficult to believe that the mints had lost their skill or that the central government had surrendered control. Perhaps the change in the silver coinage that is characterized by the great flood of antoniniani which appeared in this reign was accompanied by a change in the theory underlying the coinage of gold. From this time until the end of the period covered by the present table, weights of the gold coin fail to show well developed points of concentration. It is difficult to see how these coins could pass by tale as readily as they could and did in the time of Septimius. Yet commercial convenience requires a ready conversion between the gold coin and the subsidiary coinage. The vagaries of weight need cause little real difficulty if the value of the antoninianus was fixed as equivalent to a carat of gold.³ There is evidence

³With the antoninianus given a tariff value at two denarii (which incidentally maintained approximately the historic ratio of gold to silver) any gold coin could be readily exchanged for silver until such time as people lost faith in the silver currency.

from a later period for a silver coin which was worth a carat of gold. Merovingian documents mention a "gold siliqua" which is only another way of referring to a silver coin worth a carat of gold. Egyptian papyri of the fourth and later centuries commonly mention fractions of the carat of gold. This, too, was but a method of evaluating subsidiary coins. There seems no inherent objection to dating the beginning of this practice to the time of Gordian.

LOUIS C. WEST

FOUR ROMAN MEDALLIONS AND A BRONZE OF APAMEA IN PHRYGIA

(SEE PLATES XVI-XVII)

The coins of the Romans in the third century A. D. graphically portray the decline brought about by political and economic circumstances of the period. The necessity of providing large quantities of currency during times of stress produced coins of poor alloy, mediocre die-cutting and bad mint-craftsmanship, with a resulting marked contrast to the coinage of the first centuries of the empire. Yet there are numismatic survivals of two classes which bear evidence that artistic ability was present in the period, though limited in its scope of activity and, as a consequence, not of the stature of that immediately preceding. These were the Roman medallions, presentation pieces distributed on special occasion by the emperor,¹ and the bronze coinage issued by cities of the provinces, particularly those in Asia Minor. In a sense, these Roman medallions and many of the coins of Asia Minor may be said to confirm the saying: "All passes, art alone untiring stays with us."

During 1945 the collection of the American Numismatic Society was greatly enriched through acquisition of five such pieces, four bronze Roman medallions and a large bronze of Alexander Severus struck at Apamea in Phrygia. All five pieces were once in the collection of Vicomte de Sartiges and

¹For a complete account of the nature and characteristics of Roman medallions see J. M. C. Toynbee *Roman Medallions* (Numismatic Studies No. 5) New York, American Numismatic Society, 1944.

were illustrated with short captions in the published catalogue of his collection.³ Description of the pieces with brief comment follows.

OTACILIA SEVERA, PHILIP SR. AND PHILIP JR.

MARCIA OTACIL SEVERA AVG Diademed bust of Otacilia Severa to l.

Rev. PIETAS AVGVSTORVM (around) III ET II COS (in exergue). Facing busts of Philip Sr. (to r.) and Philip Jr. (to l.), both laureate and wearing paludamentum.

Æ. Medallion. 36.5 mm. 37.15 gr. *Ex* Hirsch Sale XXIV (Weber Coll.) Pl. XXXV, 2168; Vicomte de Sartiges Coll., Pl. XXXVIII, 326; Naville XVIII, Pl. XVI, 405. Cf. Cohen V, p. 159, 4; Gnechi, II, Pl. 110, no. 3. PLATE XVI, 1.

The medallion bears the portraits of the family of the ruling emperor, Philip, that of himself and his son on the reverse and that of Otacilia, his wife, in the position of prominence on the obverse. The exergual inscription III ET II COS dates the piece in the third consulship of Philip Sr. and the second and concurrent consulship of his son and colleague, or A. D. 248. It was in this year, the fourth of Philip's reign, that the thousandth birthday of Rome was celebrated with imperial pomp and magnificent games in the Circus Maximus. Concerning medallions of this issue Miss Toynbee says, "it seems reasonable to suppose that of the medallions of Otacilia with busts of her husband and son as reverse type, those at least which bear the exergue legend III ET

³*Collection du Vicomte de Sartiges; Séries grecque et romaine en 1910 ainsi que les acquisitions depuis cette date.* Paris, D. A. Longuet, n. d.

II COS (and they are far more numerous than those without it), were issued for presentation on January 1, 248,"³ or, in other words, in connection with celebration of the New Year.

VALERIAN I AND GALLIENUS

CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM Facing busts of Valerian (to l.) and Gallienus (to r.), both laureate and wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev. LIBERALITAS AVGG The two emperors seated l. in curule chairs on a platform; behind, the praetorian prefect and another figure; before them, Liberalitas with tessera and cornucopiae; in front of platform, one of populace extending his hands to receive the bounty.

Æ. Medallion. 21 mm. 6.65 gr. *Ex* Vicomte de Sartiges Coll., Pl. XXXIX, 358; Naville Sale XVIII, Pl. XVII, 430. Cf. Gneecchi, III, Pl. 154, 10; Cohen V, p. 337, 6. PLATE XVI, 2.

The reverse of the medallion pictures the scene of a Liberality, the distribution of money to the populace by the emperor. These distributions, traceable in origin to days of the Republic, were more and more resorted to by the Emperors to win the favor of the masses. Like scenes are common as a type on coinage, but are never executed in the same fine style and detail as on this piece, which because of its smallness might otherwise be taken to be a coin. On the antoniniani of Valerian three liberalities are recorded through the legends LIBERALITAS AVGG, LIBERALITAS AVGG II, and LIBERALITAS III.⁴ It may be that the occasion of our medallion

³J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, p. 87.

⁴P. H. Webb, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, V, 1, p. 46.

was the second or third liberality, but the absence of a numeral in the inscription makes it most possible that it refers to the first. If this be so, it seems likely that the piece was issued in connection with a liberality soon after Valerian's accession to power in the autumn of A. D. 253. Valerian left for the East in 256 or 257 never to return; the liberalities of his reign seem to be three, one for each of the years it would have been possible for him to have been present in Rome to officiate.

FLORIANUS

IMP C M ANN FLORIANVS P AVG Bust of Florian l., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass, rear view.

Rev. MONETA AVG The three Monetae, draped, standing l., each holding scales and cornucopiae; at the feet of each, a pile of coined metal.

Æ. Medallion. 36 mm. 36.29 gr. *Ex* Hirsch Sale XXIV (Weber Coll.) Pl. LXII, 2391; Vicomte de Sartiges Coll., Pl. XLI, 380; Naville Sale XVIII, Pl. XVIII, 458. Cf. Gnechi, II, Pl. 118, no. 10. PLATE XVI, 3.

PROBUS

IMP PROBVS AVG Bust of Probus l., laureate, wearing cuirass and aegis ornamented with the head of Medusa; at neck, a small head of Medusa; in l. hand, emperor holds an eagle-headed sword hilt.

Rev. MONETA AVG The three Monetae, draped, standing l., each holding scales and cornucopiae; at the feet of each, a pile of coined metal.

Æ. Medallion. 40 mm. 41.22 gr. *Ex* Vicomte de Sartiges Coll., Pl. XLI, 383; Hirsch Sale XXIV (Weber

Coll.) Pl. XLI, 2405; Naville Sale XVIII, Pl. XVIII, 461. Cf. Cohen, VI, 371; Gnecci, II, Pl. 119, no. 10. PLATE XVII, 4.

The above described medallions of Florian and Probus bear the reverse type of the three *Monetae* with the inscription *MONETA AVG.* The type, a common one on coins and medallions of the third century, refers to the imperial control of the mint. It first appeared on bronze coins of Commodus, was repeated on bronze of Septimius Severus, and later became a standard type continued throughout the century.⁵ The three *Monetae* probably represent control over branches of mint administration, or over the metals used in coinage, namely, gold, silver and bronze.

APAMEA IN PHRYGIA

Severus Alexander

AYT K M AYP CE (to l.) AA[EΞ] AN[Δ]POC (to r.)
Bust of Severus Alexander r., laureate, draped and cuirassed; border of dots.

Rev. ΕΠΙ ΠΟ ΑΙΑ ΤΡΥΦ/ΩΝΟC (in two lines to l.)
ACIAPKOV ΙΠΠΙΚΟV/ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ (in two lines to r.)
Kelainos, nude, standing l., with drapery over l. arm and wearing buskins; with r. arm he pours libation on rock, in l. he holds a short spear; border of dots.

Æ. 38 mm. 34.58 gr. *Ex* Vicomte de Sartiges Coll., Pl. XLV, 486. Cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Revue suisse de numismatique* XIV (1908) p. 33, No. 6. PLATE XVII, 5.

The type of the reverse, a standing figure of the

⁵H. Mattingly *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* III, pp. xxxv-xxxvi; IV, p. clxxvi; cf. also, *Toynbee Roman Medallions* p. 149, note 25.

eponymous hero Kelainos,⁶ recalls the original and traditional name of the city, Kelainai. According to Strabo⁷ the earliest settlement was called Kelainai after Kelainos, the son of Poseidon by Kelaino, one of the daughters of Danaüs. The city was situated near the sources of the Maeander and its tributaries, a point where trade routes converged. As a consequence, it became an important center of commerce, and it was only natural that Antiochus I should select it as a site of one of the garrison-cities in his program to strengthen the Seleucid hold on Asia Minor. The new city built by him, which overshadowed the original settlement and eventually absorbed it, was named Apamea after his mother Apama. The name of Kelainai seems to have been revived in the second century A. D., probably due to a revived pride in local traditions.⁸

Another piece of Alexander Severus, identical in type and practically of the same size as the De Sartiges specimen, has been published by Imhoof-Blumer.⁹ The differences are so small, a mere millimeter in diameter and KAI for K in the obverse inscription, that it may well be that Imhoof-Blumer actually described our specimen. Unfortunately, he neither illustrated his piece nor gave any indication of its location. There seems to be no other published record of the variety.

⁶Kelainos appears also on smaller sized pieces of Apamea: Bust of Kelainos on obverse of quasi-autonomous issues, Sept. Sev. to Alex. Sev. (B. M. C. *Phrygia* Pl. XI, 4); as standing figure on reverse, Otacilia Severa and Trajan Decius (B. M. C. *Phrygia* Pl. XII, 4 and Pl. XII, 5).

⁷XII, 579 (Loeb edition, Vol. V, p. 515).

⁸W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* II, p. 430.

⁹*Revue suisse de numismatique* XIV (1908) p. 33, No. 6.

In the caption accompanying the illustration of the piece in the De Sartiges catalogue it is designated as a medallion, a term which is often mistakenly applied to large bronzes of Asia Minor. Miss Toynbee is entirely right in saying: "Nor can we correctly apply the term 'medallion' to those large bronze pieces struck by the Greek cities in imperial times, the size and weight of which show them to be of higher value than the more ordinary coins. Their frequency and their normally mean technique, low relief, and countermarks reveal them to be, not presentation pieces, but current money issued for circulation. Even the more unusual of these large pieces, with reverse types of specially interesting or elaborate content or with personifications instead of imperial portraits on the obverse, cannot on these counts, be differentiated from the rest as true medallions, although it is possible that some of them may have been actually treasured as mementoes."¹⁰ The style and fabric of our piece is like that of the regular coinage of smaller size from the same mint. Further, its type occurs on smaller coins as does also the name of the signing magistrate, P. Aelius Tryphon.¹¹ According to its weight it may well be a piece of 1½ obols in the Attic standard which would be equivalent to a Roman sestertius. However, it would be necessary to compare the weights of many more specimens of all sizes from the mint and its neigh-

¹⁰ *Journal of Roman Studies* XXXIV (1944) p. 65.

¹¹ Cf. B. M. C. *Phrygia* p. xxxvii, for other pieces signed by this magistrate under Severus Alexander. One P. Aelius Tryphon is mentioned in an inscription as thrice Asiarch in A. D. 247-8 (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* II, p. 471). Further, a coin of Gallienus for Apamea is inscribed ΕΠΙ ΤΡΥΦΩΝΟC (Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen*, p. 206). Possibly the same individual is referred to in all three instances.

bors to draw categorical conclusions concerning the exact niche filled by this piece in Apamea's monetary system.

SAWYER McA. MOSSER

ADDITIONS TO THE LIST OF IMITATIONS OF THE ENGLISH NOBLE

In the monograph on *Foreign Imitations of the English Noble*¹ it was stated that the list there given could not pretend to be complete, and that further search, particularly in the museums of Holland, might be expected to yield other examples. While these museums are still inaccessible, a wide browsing in numismatic periodicals, with attention directed to the period involved (1350–1650), has disclosed mention of three nobles not included in the original survey.

The first of these nobles is described in an article “Quelques monnaies inédites de la Gueldre” by T. M. Roest,² and illustrated by a line drawing. It is of William I, Duke of Gelderland, 1393–1400. The coin, which is unique, was found at Hengelo, and is in the Museum of Leyden. It is of the type of the contemporary English nobles of Richard II and Henry IV. The obverse inscription is WILHELM DEI GRA DVX GELR COM ZVT. The “king” standing in the ship carries a shield bearing a double-headed eagle in two quarters, and a lion with forked tail in the other quarters. The reverse is in type and inscription exactly that of the English nobles, except that the center compartment carries the letter W.

A unique half noble of this issue has since been discovered in the Eeckeren hoard, which is described and illustrated by Victor Tourneur in a publication

¹Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 93, 1941.

²*Rev. Num. Belge*, 5e ser., VI (1874) 273, Pl. IX.

of the hoard.³ It copies the English half noble closely in type on reverse inscription.

With regard to the Gelderland noble and half noble it suffices to say that they are companion pieces to the nobles and half nobles of the contemporary Philip le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, and fall in the same category as the previously noted noble of Walerand, Count of St. Pol and Ligny, 1371-1415, about which the following comment was made in the quoted monograph: "—it is not unlikely that it is a surviving representative of a perhaps common type; it would not be surprising to discover similar coins of other minor rulers."

The second noble among these additional pieces is not represented by an existing specimen, but only by a record in an early chronicle, discussed in an article by Hoofs van Iddenkonge under the title "Noble d'or à retrouver."⁴ In this chronicle, published in 1738, *Johannes a Leydis, de origine et rebus gestis dominorum de Brederode* occurs the passage "Et ainsi Grobert de Bréderode fut le LIV^e évêque d'Utrecht, et il posséda l'évêché un an et quatre mois. Et il fit frapper des nobles d'or dont j'ai vu un exemplaire qui était d'or tres-fin."

Grobert de Bréderode, who held the bishopric from 1455 to 1456, was the second son of Waleran, Sire de Bréderode, and was elected by the chapter on the death of Rudolph de Diepholt. However, Philip le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, 1437-60, had a natural son David, for whom he wanted the bishopric, and Grobert was persuaded to abdicate, leaving no known coins.

³*Rev. Num. Belge*, LXXV (1923) 236.

⁴*Rev. Num. Belge* 5^e ser., VI (1874) pp. 143-4.

There is no description of this reported noble of Grobert, but one may suppose it would be modeled closely after the contemporary nobles of Philip le Bon, as illustrated by No. 14, PLATE II of *Foreign Imitations of the English Noble*. The depiction of a bishop in a ship, possibly with mitre and crozier, would provide an interesting variation from the usual martial figure with royal or ducal crown. It is, of course, possible that the term "noble" merely refers to the denomination and weight, and that the type may be quite different, as in the case of the Scandinavian "nobles." This can probably only be settled when, through some find, the piece graduates from "à retrouver" to "trouvé."

The third noble to be listed is known neither from an existing specimen, nor from historical records, but is authenticated by the existence of the original dies. These are of the Dutch town of Zaltbommel, the dies being part of a group still preserved (in 1862) among the town archives, and described and illustrated by a careful line drawing made from a modern impression in W. J. de Voogt's "Notice sur la monnaie de Zaltbommel et sur les coins conservés dans les archives de cette ville."⁶

This is an imitation of the rose noble of Edward IV. The obverse inscription reads, NOBILIS CIVITATIS BOEME VAL ANGLIE. The shield carried by the "king" bears a lion in two quarters, and a diagonally disposed pair of roses in the others. On the flag is a large B. The reverse is an exact copy of the Edward IV rose noble, both as to the design and the inscription IHS AVT TRANSIENS etc.

⁶*Rev. Num. Belge*, 3e ser. VI (1862) p. 470, Pl. XVIII, No. 1.

De Voogt dates these dies approximately by the fact that the mint at Zaltbommel was not active after 1491 until the third quarter of the sixteenth century, when a great need for currency caused its reopening after the town espoused the cause of the Prince of Orange, "Stathouder de Hollande, de Zeeland et de *Bommel*." This was in 1572, and ecus were struck in 1579–80, to which years he ascribes this noble. This dating would agree with the general striking of autonomous rose nobles in Holland following the rose nobles series of Philip II in 1579.

The Zaltbommel noble falls in the group described in the monograph under the heading "Close Imitations of the Noble, with Small Variations in the Inscriptions," under which nobles of Arkel and Frisia are described, both copies of the Edward IV rose noble in which the words (or abbreviations) for AD VALOREM or AD LEGEM are inserted in the inscriptions. However, on the Arkel and Frisia nobles, and on the similar ones of Marie of Brimeu, the names of the English kings or queens are retained, so that the inscription is altered only to an extent likely to be overlooked by a casual handler. The Zaltbommel noble, on the other hand, has what might be called an "honest" inscription stating both the origin of the piece and its standard of value, without camouflage. The obverse inscription is in general similar in character to that on the later nobles (not rose nobles) of Campen, which however indicates a different standard by ending in VALO FLAN instead of VAL ANGLIE.

HERBERT E. IVES

EUROPEAN RARITIES: SALZBURG AND THE PALATINATE

(SEE PLATE XXII, 1-2)

A SALZBURG "KLIPPE" OF 1583

Early in 1945 the American Numismatic Society acquired a ten kreuzer "Klippe" dated 1583, struck by the Archbishop of Salzburg, Johann Jakob Khuen von Belasi-Lichtenberg (1560-1586). The obverse shows the patron saint of Salzburg, St. Rupert, holding before him a shield, the first and fourth quarters of which bear the arms of the archbishopric, the second, the arms of the Belasi family, and the third the arms of the house of Niederthor. The legend reads IO: IAC: D: G: AR. EPS: SAL. AP: SE: L. 1583 (Johannes Jacobus, Dei Gratia Archi-Episcopus Salisburgensis, Apostolicae Sedis Legatus, 1583) with S (Sanctus) in the left field, and R (Rudbertus) in the right. The reverse shows the crowned double-headed imperial eagle bearing the imperial orb on which is inscribed the mark of value: 10. The legend reads RVDOL:II:IMPER:AVGVS:P:F:DECRE · (Rudolphi II Imperatoris Augusti Permissa Fieri Decreto). PLATE XXII, 2.

The coin is of great rarity and, from all indications, probably unique. It was formerly in the collection of Prince Philip of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.¹ The piece is missing in the catalogue on Salzburg coins by Zeller.² Bernhart and Roll's³ listing for the ten

¹Leo Hamburger Sale, Feb. 20, 1928, lot 3113, Pl. XX.

²*Des Erzstiftes Salzburg Münzrecht und Münzwesen nebst Verzeichniss der salzburgischen und auf Salzburg Bezug habenden Münzen und Medaillen.*

³*Die Münzen und Medaillen des Erzstiftes Salzburg*, Vol. I, p. 105, No. 1452.

kreuzer "Klippe" indicates that the Coburg specimen was the only one of that date known to them.

Our piece belongs to that class of coins which because of their shape and method of manufacture are called "Klippen." This name, derived from the Swedish "Klippa" meaning to cut with shears, is applied to coins four-cornered or many-sided in shape. Originally, "Klippen" appeared as siege and necessity pieces because of the comparative speed and economy with which they could be made. A mint under pressure found it more convenient and rapid to cut square blanks than to prepare circular planchets. In addition there was elimination of the inevitable wastage in cutting out round blanks and saving of the time necessary to remelt the waste for further use. In later times "Klippen" were struck by various European mints either as trial or presentation pieces⁴ or as pieces for general circulation.⁵ At Salzburg, they are dispersed throughout that mint's coinage, many having companion pieces in the usual round form with similar types and dates. In some instances the round form is scarcer, in others the "Klippe," while in still others both forms are equally common.⁶ The ten kreuzer piece or "Zehner" was also struck in the usual circular form in 1583.⁷ Since apparently but one specimen has come down to us, it seems possible that the 1583 "Klippe" may have been struck as a trial piece for an intended regular issue.

⁴Schrötter, F. von., *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, p. 310.

⁵Luschn von Ebengreuth, A., *Allgemeine Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*; 2te Aufl., p. 48.

⁶Cf. table of rarity in Zeller, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 ff.

⁷Bernhart and Roll, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 107, No. 1484.

AN EARLY DATED GOLDGULDEN OF LOUIS IV,
COUNT OF THE PALATINATE

Another interesting acquisition of the Society is a goldgulden of the Count of the Palatinate, Louis IV (1436–1449), struck by the mint at Bacherach and bearing the date 1436 in Roman numerals. On the obverse there is a quartered shield with the arms of Bavaria-Palatinate on a long cross with the legend LVDV'C P'R' DVX * B' MO' * B' (Ludovicus Comes Palatinus Rheni Dux Bavariae, Moneta Bacharensis). The reverse bears three shields in a trefoil arrangement: upper left, Trier; upper right, Cologne; below, Mainz. The Legend reads ANNO * DNI' * M'CCCCXXXVI * (Anno Domini MCCCCXXVI). PLATE XXII, 1.

The piece is of the type used by the Palatinate during the period of the Rhenish monetary treaty of 1437, concluded between the Archbishoprics of Trier, Mainz, and Cologne, together with the temporal prince of the Palatinate. This agreement, which was for the duration of six years, provided among other things that the coins of the subscribing mints be of "eynen gelichen stailen und manerin;" i.e., of similar type and legend. The Society's coin, however, bears a date one year prior to the signing of the pact at Coblenz on September 14, 1437.

Joseph⁸ suggests that the goldgulden dated 1436 were struck as the result of an agreement among the mint masters as to new coinage for the future, the unofficial agreement being later confirmed by the heads of their states in treaty form. This view seems

⁸*Goldmünzen des XIV und XV Jahrhunderts*, p. 44.

to be borne out by the coinage of goldgulden by other participants, (the Archbishop of Cologne, Dietrich II, Graf von Mörs;⁹ Theodoric I von Erbach,¹⁰ Archbishop of Mainz, and Raban von Helmstadt,¹¹ Archbishop of Trier), all being dated 1436, and all of the same type with the arms of the issuer on a long cross on the obverse, and the reverse bearing the arms of the other partners in the monetary union. There must have been some such anticipatory agreement among the mint masters, for in no other way can there be a satisfactory explanation made for the sudden change in type.

Our piece is obviously rare. In a search through a vast number of continental auction sale catalogues only one specimen¹² has been found. The piece was noted by Köhler¹³ in the eighteenth century and more recently by Frey,¹⁴ both of whom refer to earlier listings rather than to an actual specimen.

JOHN L. DRESSER

⁹Noss, A. *Die Münzen und Medaillen von Cöln*, No. 349.

¹⁰Frey, A. R., *op. cit.*, No. 31.

¹¹Frey, A. R. *The dated European coinage prior to 1501*. (Reprinted from Amer. Jour. of Numismatics, XLVII, 1913) No. 32.

¹²Garthe Coll., J. M. Heberle Sale, Sept. 10, 1884, No. 7271.

¹³*Vollständiges Ducaten-Cabinett*, No. 1139.

¹⁴Frey, *op. cit.*, No. 33.

A HOARD OF LIMA AND POTOSÍ "COBS"

1654-1689

(SEE PLATES XVIII-XXI)

"Search is often made by persons who labor in anticipation of throwing up with their spade and pickaxe, gold bars, . . . bags of golden doubloons, and chests wedged close with moidores, ducats and pearls; but although great treasures lie hid in this way it seldom happens that any is recovered." *Pirate's Own Book*, Portland, Maine, 1859.

So seldom indeed does it happen, that the writer considered himself most fortunate when, early in 1945, part of such a hoard came into his hands. It was not of gold but in it there were 158 Spanish silver eight reales "cob" pieces of the Lima and Potosí mints. From the same source another lot of eighteen pieces was obtained and still another fourteen were located in the collection of Mr. Arnold R. Perpall. Altogether there were forty-five Lima and one hundred forty-five Potosí pieces. Because such a large number does not seem ever to have been recorded as one lot, they were carefully studied in detail. The following observations have resulted.

According to information supplied to the writer the coins were part of one lot uncovered recently in Lima, Peru, when an old building was razed. Apparently nothing appeared in the local papers at the time. The total number of pieces in the find is said to have been around 1500, consisting of from 300 to 600 pieces-of-eight, together with coins of smaller denominations. The writer obtained some of the smaller pieces but they are not included in this survey.

A summary of the contents of the hoard, excepting the smaller pieces, follows:

THE POTOSÍ PIECES

PHILIP IV.

| Number of Coins | Date | Assayer's Registered Initial |
|-----------------------|------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | 1654 | E |
| 1 | 1656 | E |
| 1 | 1662 | E |
| 1 | 1663 | E |
| 1 | 1665 | E |
| 1 | 1666 | E |

CHARLES II

| | | |
|----|------|----|
| 1 | 1667 | E |
| 1 | 1668 | E |
| 1 | 1672 | E |
| 1 | 167? | E |
| 5 | 1675 | E |
| 2 | 1676 | E |
| 5 | 1677 | E |
| 12 | 1678 | E |
| 17 | 1679 | C |
| 7 | 1679 | V |
| 9 | 1680 | V |
| 12 | 1681 | V |
| 4 | 1682 | V |
| 7 | 1683 | V |
| 4 | 1684 | V |
| 1 | ? | V |
| 16 | 1685 | VR |
| 5 | 1686 | VR |
| 15 | 1687 | VR |
| 13 | 1688 | VR |
| 1 | 1689 | VR |

THE LIMA PIECES. (CHARLES II)

| | | |
|----|------|---|
| 2 | 1684 | V |
| 1 | 1685 | R |
| 7 | 1686 | R |
| 4 | 1687 | R |
| 29 | 1688 | R |
| 2 | 1689 | V |

The Lima pieces were dated from 1684 to 1689, the Potosí pieces from 1654 to 1689. From their appearance and condition the later dates seem to have little, if any, pocket circulation. None are holed and their surfaces and color are too uniform to be an accumulation from varying sources. The largest number of one date is forty-two of the year 1688, and as there were only three of 1689, it can be assumed that the coins were deposited in 1689.

The coins in the hoard were struck during an exciting period in Spanish colonial history when the buccaneers were at the height of their power and large parties of freebooters were roaming the coasts of South America in force. The last large group of buccaneers that raided the South Sea coasts left in 1687 and 1688. Statistical accounts of the Viceroy of Peru, printed at the end of the *Lima Almanack*, note the towns of Santa Maria de la Perilla, Guasca, Santiago de Miraflores, Canete, Pisco, Huara, and Guayaquil as having been sacked and in part destroyed by the freebooters in the years 1685, 1686 and 1687. Lima was too far inland and too well protected to be in much danger of attack from the sea, but gold and silver must have been put underground in the vicinity during this period for safekeeping, not by pirates, but by the rightful owners.

In the crudeness of "cobs"¹ lies much of their

¹Albert R. Frey in *A Dictionary of Numismatic Names* says the word "cob" means something roundish or forming a roundish lump and quotes Dinely in his "Journal of a Tour in Ireland, 1681," in the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*: "The most usual money . . . is Spanish Coyne knowne here by the name of a cob, an half cob, and a quarter cob."

Herrera in *El Duro* catalogues a 1684 Lima "cob" as *moneda cortada* (cut money). Ricardo Palma, the famous author of *Tradiciones Peruanas* speaks of a *colonato*. Frey describes a *colonato* as a name given to a variety of Spanish peso which exhibits two crowned

fascination. Popular opinion has been that they were clipped, but the 190 examined showed no signs of having been clipped after coming from the mint. The edges that do show signs of being cut were cut by a chisel at the mint and not later by "chisellers" among the populace.

Detailed examination of the "cobs" in the hoard sheds considerable light on the method of their manufacture. Most of the pieces have roughly four sides. On two opposite sides the edge is rounded, these edges being those of a cast bar. The other opposite edges are V-shaped and show bevels made by the chisel used to cut the cast bar into blanks of the right size for hammering and coining (See PLATE XVIII, 2-3). The original four corners of the planchet are generally discernible (See PLATE XVIII, 2). The blanks were originally squarish or oblong and any attempt to round them was made by heating and then hammering the sides, which caused them to bulge between the corners into a roughly-shaped, roundish lump of silver. They are thick in the center as a result and thinner at the edges where they were hammered.

Dr. A. F. Pradeau in his *Numismatic History of Mexico*² says "The word *cob* resulted from the Spanish expression *cabo de barra*, meaning that these coins were each cut from the end of a bar. Accord-

pillars rising from the sea, the so-called Pillars of Hercules, assumed by the ancients, whose knowledge of the sea did not extend much beyond Gibraltar, to be the limits of habitation. "Cobs" could be called *colonato* but so also could the round pillar dollars which are not "cob"-shaped.

Spanish writers call "cob" pieces *macuquina* and European cataloguers *barbare*. They have been referred to as "crude and clipped" and Elder catalogued them as "slug-shaped" in the Skilton Sale.

²Note on page 42.

ing to a six page document found in the *Archivo de Indias*, 'on the ninth of August, 1598, the Spanish crown contracted with Dr. Blathasar Vellerino de Villalobos, a cleric, for the use in the mints of Mexico, Lima, Potosí, Santa Fé de Bogotá, and Santo Domingo, of an invention developed by the late Miguel de la Cerda,' which consisted of a way of making round or nearly round silver bars; these, in turn, could be cut with scissors into planchets or disks of approximately the desired weight and thickness and ready to be struck into coin."

This cannot have been the method by which these "cobs" or *macuquina* style coins were made. Silver of 930.51 thousandths fine, which was used from 1536 to 1729 in the Spanish colonial mints, is very malleable but also very difficult to cut. It is doubtful that a round bar could be sliced into blanks, either hot or cold, with the primitive machinery in use in these mints up to 1732. Even with modern machinery it is not the simple way to make blanks for coins. Furthermore, if sliced from a round bar, the coins would not show the corners of a square blank as they do, nor would they be thick in the center and show hammer marks where flattened and spread. It is from the shape of the coins that we deduce that an oblong cast bar was used. This bar was chiseled into nearly square pieces, which when hammered were struck between dies.

The hammer marks, slightly concaved as if made with a ball-peen hammer, show on the surface of the coins on the thin parts which the dies did not reach to impress the design. Many of the coins have large cracks, some running almost to the center of the

piece, where hammering split the silver, probably due to improper heating or annealing. One of the most interesting pieces in the hoard is a Potosí "E," with date unreadable, which was badly cracked and split (See Fig. 1 where the sketch of the obverse has been turned to show the relation of the upper and lower dies when the coin was struck). When this piece was struck, the upper die must have been held on a slant so that only one-half of the design registered. A



FIGURE 1

large number of the coins, particularly those of Potosí,³ are double- or triple-struck so that details overlap, and on some four or six columns instead of two show as a result (See Fig. 2 and PLATE XIX, 1).

It is known that in hand-hammering coins the lower die was let into an anvil. The upper die, the reverse, was held in position over the lower die and the blank placed between them was struck by a blow

³Many of the Potosí pieces are badly double-struck so that the design overlaps or is blocked out. Ninety-four of the 133 Potosí pieces in the writer's collection are plainly double- or triple-strikes. Many others show a slight out-of-register effect, probably due to bouncing of the hammer.

on the upper die. This, in practice, caused the top die to bounce into varying positions with the result that the relation of the obverse to the reverse die was constantly changing. This proves true on the "cob" pieces of the hoard. A test was made for the twenty-nine Lima pieces of 1688. Only in two or three cases did two coins happen to have been struck with the same die relations.

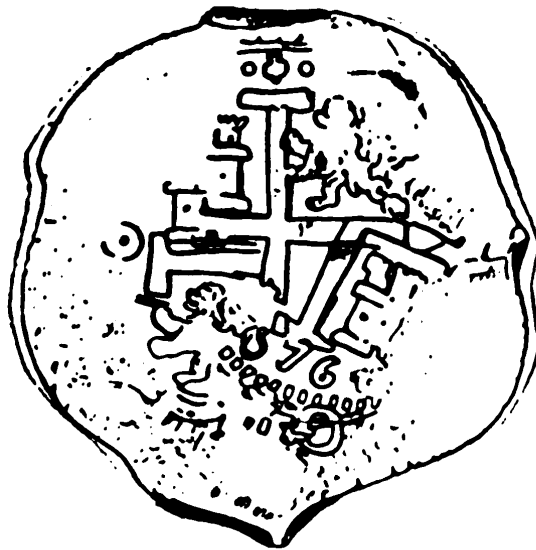


FIGURE 2

A very heavy blow must have been used to strike pieces so large and thick. It seems that this could not have been done with a sledge hammer. The necessary blow may have been struck through use of an apparatus similar to that used to strike Swedish copper plate money about 1718, through which a heavy hammer was raised and dropped by large wooden gears. An engraving illustrating this apparatus was published in *Numismatiska Meddelanden* XII (1890). Similar wooden gears appear in photo-

graphs of the old mint machinery in Potosí but no indication of how they operated has yet been found by the writer.

THE POTOSÍ PIECES

The six coins of Philip IV have the registered initial of the assayer "E." Herrera⁴ lists "E" as the initial of Elgueta, the assayer.

Due to the uneven surfaces and the small size of their blanks, very little of the legend shows; only an average of five or six letters appear on either side. As the same dies were used to strike the "cobs" which produced the carefully made round pieces of the same period, the complete design and inscription are known. Those of Philip IV can be described as follows:

PHILIPVS.IIII. D G HISPANIARVM.REX between two circles of dots; crowned cross quartering the arms of Castile and Leon, with a pomegranate or bud above topmost arm, with 665 (or other numerals) beneath the lower arm, the letter \dot{P} between dots at the left, and the letter \dot{E} between dots at the right; four double-lined arcs connect the tips of the cross.

Rev. POTOSI . ANO. 1665. EL . PERV between two circles of dots; two pillars with trefoil capitals resting on wavy base lines; the inscription in three lines separated by two horizontal lines as well as by the pillars vertically:

| | | |
|-----|-----|-----|
| P | 8 | E |
| PLV | SVL | TRA |
| E | 65 | P |

⁴*El Duro*, p. 246.

at the top a crown and below it, midway between the pillars, a pomegranate. (PLATE XVIII, 1).

The 139 pieces of Charles II are dated from 1667 to 1689. On fifteen of these no legend is readable, due to the small size of the blanks. On the remainder, not more than ten letters appear on the obverse and on most from two to four letters only appear in full. The design is similar to that of Philip IV described above, but the legend on the obverse, which should read CAROLVS.II.DG.HISPANIARVM.REX, could not be entirely accommodated on many of the dies. This was due to improper spacing of the letters when the dies were engraved. The following endings were noted:

HISPANIARVM.RE
HISPANIARVM.R
HISPANIARVM.
HISPANIARV
HISPANIA
HISPANI

These endings have no significance and are common on all the early Spanish-colonial coins of the period. The legend ended wherever the die-sinker ran out of space to use the letter punches with which he made the die. Such imperfections as the date 162, caused by omitting the 5, (for 1652); 1674 on an eight reales piece of 1654, caused by using a 7 punch instead of a 5 punch; 157 instead of 1657 by omitting the 6; 16656 probably by double-striking the coin; are noted by H. F. Burzio.⁵

The reverse of the Charles II pieces has the usual

⁵*La ceca de la Villa Imperial de Potosí*, p. 96.

pillar design. Again the legends are fragmentary with an average of two or three complete letters on each. The reverse legend should read POTOSI. ANO.1667.EL.PERV. (or other date). Up to and including 1676 the date under the cross on the obverse shows the last three numerals, as 676, but beginning with 1677 only two numerals seem to appear, as 77, 78, etc.

In the year 1679 a new assayer appeared at the Potosí mint whose registered initial was "C." These "C" pieces were evidently minted only part of the year and the assayer was replaced by one whose initial was "V," who served until 1684. Because of such a short period of minting the "C" pieces have been very scarce in collections. There were seventeen in this hoard with "C" and seven with "V" dated 1679. The only round piece of 1679 "C" noted in any collection is illustrated by Burzio.⁶

THE LIMA PIECES

The forty-five Lima pieces studied date from 1684 to 1689 in the reign of Charles II. The flans are so small that little of the legend shows. On nineteen pieces no part of the legend shows on the obverse, and on fourteen no legend is included on the reverse. The dots of the inner circle only are partly visible. As with the Potosí pieces it would seem that those of Lima were struck with the same dies used to strike round pieces, which can be described as follows:

CAROLVS.II.DG.HISPANIARVM.REX between two circles of dots; crowned cross quartering the arms of Castile and Leon, with 8 above topmost

⁶*Op. cit.*, Pl. VIII, 43.

arm, 86 (or other numerals) beneath the lower arm, the letter L at the left, and the letter R at the right (for assayer); four double-lined arcs connecting the tips of the cross.

Rev. LIMA.ANO.1686.EL.PERV between two circles of dots; crowned pillars with trefoil capitals resting on wavy base lines; the inscription in three lines separated by two horizontal lines as well as by the pillars vertically:

| | | |
|-----|-----|-----|
| L | 8 | R |
| PLV | SVL | TRA |
| R | 86 | L |

The stops in the legend are sometimes a single dot and sometimes a group of four dots or a quatrefoil. The dot over the 8 on the reverse is sometimes changed to a quatrefoil (See PLATE XXI, 2). The cross on the Lima pieces is thicker and the dots around the legend are larger than those on the Potosí pieces. The lions have heads like crocodiles.

Generally, the Lima pieces are smaller in size and thicker than the Potosí pieces. Those of Lima seldom show cracks in the planchets and they appear to display less hammering. As at Potosí, many of the coins are double-struck, but in general there is evidence of greater care in striking.

The entire word PERV shows on one coin only, the 1684 piece in the Perpall Collection (PLATE XX, 3). The word LIMA shows on three and ANO likewise on three. All four of the numerals of the date

in the legends show on two coins only. Thus, it is evident that specimens of this variety with much of the coin design showing are rare.

The two Lima pieces dated 1684 are particularly interesting as, according to Medina,⁷ the Lima mint resumed coining on Jan. 7, 1684, after having been closed for a long time. Up to the finding of these two 1684 pieces the writer had traced only the following recorded coins from the Lima mint for 1684 and 1685: two specimens of eight reales 1684, one of 1685 in Herrera *El Duro*⁸ and four reales, two and 1 real pieces of 1685 in the Vidal Quadras y Ramon⁸ and the Fonrobert⁹ Collections.

The two 1684 pieces, one in the collection of Mr. Perpall and the other in that of the author, have differently shaped blanks. The author's piece (PLATE XX, 2) is small and thick and has eight sides, whereas the piece in the Perpall Collection (PLATE XX, 3) is larger, nearly square, and shows four corners. It appears that the mint may have been experimenting with cutting blanks from bars of differing shapes.

THE MEASUREMENTS

The coins were measured across the surface vertically and horizontally and were found to vary considerably. The variance is naturally the result of the cutting and of uneven stretching when the blanks were pounded out by hammers.

⁷*Las monedas coloniales hispano-americanas*, page 164.

⁸Nos. 394, 395, and 396.

⁸*Catalogo de la collección de monedas y medallas de Manuel Vidal Quadras y Ramon*, II, nos. 9342 and 9347.

⁹*Jules Fonrobert'sche Sammlung übersceischer Münzen und Medaillen, bearbeitet von Adolph Weyl*, III Abtheil., Süd Amerika, no. 8876.

The measurements of the 145 Potosí pieces varied from 35 mm. x 35 mm. to 44 mm. x 47 mm. The average for the 145 pieces was 37.9 mm. x 37.7 mm., which, allowing for a slight margin, indicates that the original blanks were square. Of course, the original piece cut from the silver bar was smaller before it was spread by hammering.

The forty-five Lima pieces varied from 30 mm. x 32 mm. to 38 mm. x 43 mm., and averaged 35.48 x 35.68, which indicates a square 2 mm. smaller than that for the Potosí pieces. However, the thickness of the Lima pieces compensates for the smaller surface area as the weights show.

THE WEIGHTS

The coins in the hoard were weighed to the grain by Mr. William L. Clark at the American Numismatic Society with the following results.

Of the Potosí pieces four weighed exactly 416 grains, the correct weight for an eight reales piece. Fifty-one weighed short a total of 631 grains, or an average underweight per coin of 12.37 grains. Ninety were overweight a total of 690 grains, or an average overweight of 7.66 grains. The whole lot of 145 Potosí pieces were, therefore, a slight 59 grains overweight with an average weight of 416.4 grains per coin. The heaviest Potosí piece weighed 438 grains (1687), and the lightest 345 grains (1677).

The weights speak well for the system, considering the crude methods by which these "cobs" were made. Apparently the bars of silver were cast of uniform weight and size and from them were cut a fixed number of pieces. This resulted in a variation of the in-

dividual weights of the blanks, as it was impossible to cut them all the same size. However, in the final analysis, the mint produced a definite number of pieces from a definite weight of silver, so that the average was 416 grains to each coin.

Previous to 1652 there had been scandals at the Potosí mint due to falsifications of silver content. This brought about the closing of the mint and the adoption of the new design with the pillars. The mint re-opened in 1652 striking the new pillar coinage.¹⁰ Curiosity led the writer to make the following comparison to ascertain whether there was a difference in the weights under different assayers:

| <i>No. of Coins</i> | <i>Assayer</i> | <i>Date</i> | <i>Average Wt. in grains</i> |
|-------------------------|----------------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 34 | "E" | (1654-1678) | 415.2 |
| 17 | "C" | (1679 only) | 412.3 |
| 44 | "V" | (1679-1684) | 417.2 |
| 50 | "VR" | (1685-1689) | 417.8 |

At first glance it seems that assayers "E" and "C," who served during 1654 to 1679, were skimping on the weights, but it must be remembered that only thirty-four pieces were averaged for "E" and seventeen for "C." With more pieces to weigh, their coins would probably average up to standard. The average for "V" and "VR" from 1679 to 1689 is 417.5 per coin.

As forty-one of the forty-five Lima pieces were minted under assayer "R" during the years 1685 to 1688, no breakdown in weights between assayers was

¹⁰ See Pradeau, *op. cit.*, p. 28 and Burzio, *op. cit.*, p. 85-86 for accounts of the Potosí mint scandals.

attempted. The Lima pieces average 418.73 grains each or 2.73 grains per coin average over the 416 grain standard. The lightest Lima piece weighs 399 grains (1686) and the heaviest weigh 429 grains (two pieces, both dated 1688). Two coins weigh the standard 416 grains. While eleven of the coins were short an average of 5.72 grains each, this was more than balanced by thirty-two being overweight an average of 5.9 grains per coin.

It appears that the Lima mint officials were more careful in their weighing than those at Potosí. Due to the ill repute of the Potosí coinage previous to 1652, the Lima mint enjoyed a better reputation than Potosí during this period. At the time of the investigation of the Potosí scandals it was proposed that that mint be discontinued entirely and that all coins be struck at Lima. While this recommendation was never carried out, it does seem that the Lima officials upheld their good reputation by running over rather than underweight on their eight reales pieces.

The registered initial "R" for assayer appears on both Lima and Potosí coins for the years 1685-1688. Could one assayer have handled both mints for the better standardization of the coinage in Peru?

VISIBILITY OF DETAILS

Characteristically of all "cobs" the coins in the hoard bore on their flans portions of but never the full design of the die. It should be noted that this condition is not due to wear on the coins. The wear on most of the pieces in the hoard was slight and the majority were in the same state in which they left

the mint. As already pointed out the combination of small-sized blanks with the uneven surfaces caused by hammering in their preparation prevented a complete impression of the design of the dies. A summary tabulation of the visible details on pieces in the hoard follows.



FIGURE 3

THE POTOSÍ OBERSES

CROWN: shows on 10 coins (80 to 95% on coin); does not show on 68 coins (0%); shows on 67 coins (30% on coin)

CASTLES: both well struck on 18 coins; one well struck on 92 coins

LIONS: both well struck on 25 coins; one well struck on 77 coins

ASSAYER'S INITIAL: readable on 103 coins

ASSAYER'S AND MINT INITIALS: both good on 69 coins

DATE: shows on 88 coins (both numerals); no numerals show on 38 coins

LEGEND: On Philip IV pieces, 6 show 0 to 9 letters, with an average of 6 complete letters per legend

On Charles II pieces, 139 show 2 to 10 letters, with an average of 4 complete and 2 or 3 partial letters per legend



FIGURE 4

THE POTOSÍ REVERSES

CROWN: well struck on 20 coins (80 to 100% on coin); does not show on 60 coins (0%); shows partially (about 1/3) on 65 coins

CROWNS ON PILLARS: both well struck on 20 coins; one well struck on 56 coins

ASSAYER'S AND MINT INITIALS: one or other generally readable; assayer's initial unreadable on 11 coins

DATE BETWEEN PILLARS: readable on 127 coins

DATE IN LEGEND: 4 numerals show on 9 coins; 2 numerals show on 14 coins

LEGEND: on Philip IV pieces, 6 show 2 to 9 letters, with an average of 5 letters per legend

On Charles II pieces, 139 show an average of 3 complete and 2 or 3 partial letters per coin



FIGURE 5

THE LIMA OBVERSES

CROWN: shows on 2 coins (80% on coin); does not show on 33 coins (0%); a small portion shows on 10 coins (10%)

CASTLES: both well struck on 4 coins; one well struck on 18 coins

LIONS: both well struck on 6 coins; one well struck on 19 coins

ASSAYER'S INITIAL: readable on 27 coins

ASSAYER'S AND MINT INITIALS: both good on 16 coins

DATE: shows enough to identify on 21 coins; does not show on nearly half of the coins

LEGEND: only 15 complete letters on entire 45 coins only 79; partial letters on entire 45 coins; no legend on 19 coins



1



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3



GREEK ACQUISITIONS, 1945



4



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GREEK ACQUISITIONS, 1945



6



7



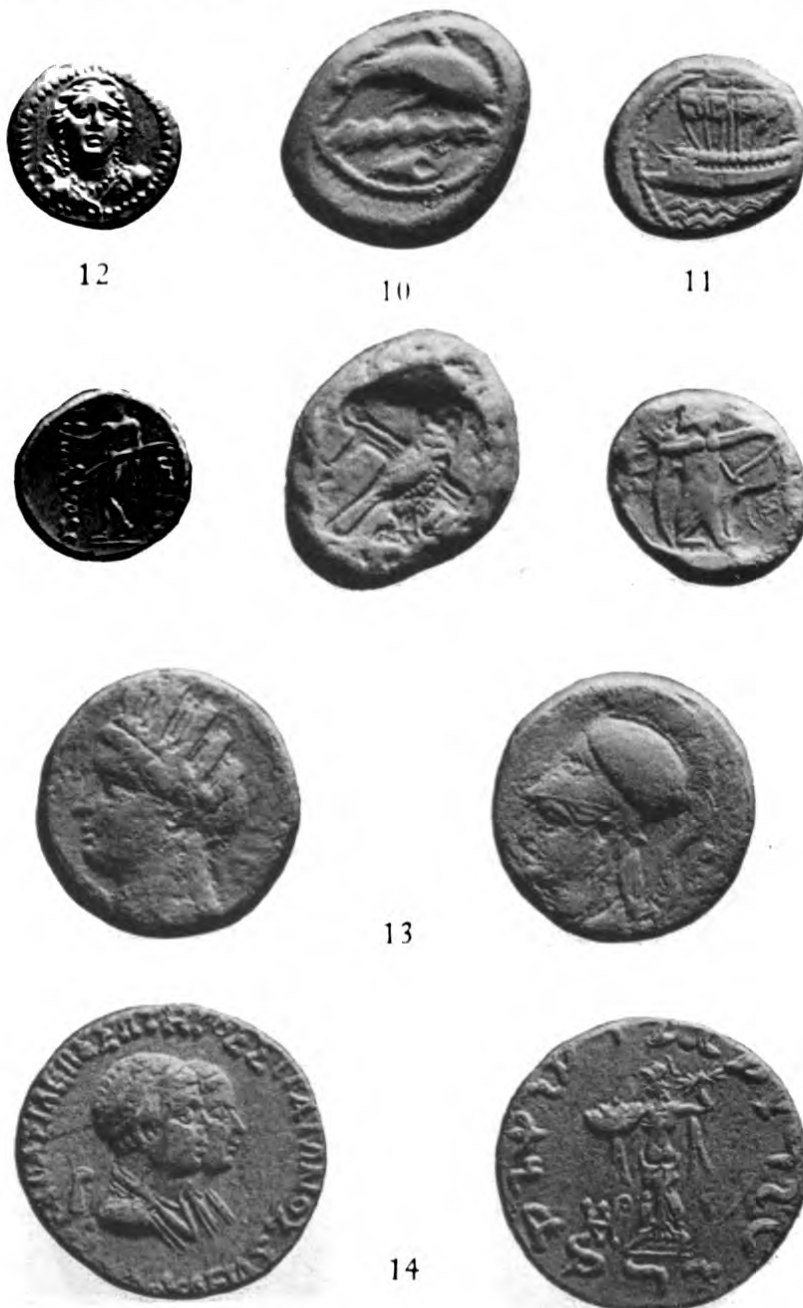
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9



GREEK ACQUISITIONS, 1945



GREEK ACQUISITIONS, 1945

THE LIMA REVERSES

CROWN: shows on 2 coins (80% on coin); does not show on 23 coins (0%); shows small section (10%) on 10 coins



FIGURE 6

CROWNS ON PILLARS: both well struck on 12 coins; one well struck on 10 coins; not struck or off-flan on 23 coins

ASSAYER'S AND MINT INITIALS: one or other generally readable; but assayer's initial not readable on 5 coins

DATE BETWEEN PILLARS: good except on 2 coins

LEGEND: only 30 complete letters on entire 45 pieces and 57 fragments

PERV: shows on 1 coin, LIMA on 3 coins, and ANO on 3 (all letters good)

ROBERT I. NESMITH

MISCELLANEOUS ACCESSIONS ILLUSTRATED ON PLATES XXII AND XXIII

A selection of interesting coins acquired by the Society, not otherwise mentioned in this issue of *Museum Notes*, is illustrated on PLATES XXII and XXIII. Brief identifications for these are given below:

PLATE XXII

3. SCHONGAU. Silver Bracteate of Conradin of Swabia (1258–1268). Formerly attributed to Augsburg.
4. TYROL. Sigismund (1439–1490). *AV*. Ducat.
5. ENGLAND. Cnut (1016–1035). *Æ*. Penny.
6. DENMARK. Christian IV (1588–1648). *AV* Ducat.

PLATE XXIII

7. CAMBRAI. Robert II of Geneva (1368–1372). Cavalier d'or.
8. BRABANT. Maximilian and Philippe le Beau (1482–1494). Grand real d'argent, dated 1487. Struck at Antwerp.
9. SORAGNA. Niccolo Meli-Lupi (1731–1741). Scudo d'oro, dated 1731.
10. TUSCANY. Ferdinand II (1620–1670). *AV*. One-eighth Doppia.
11. TIERRA DEL FUEGO. Julius Popper. *AV*. Five grams, dated 1889. Struck at El Paramo.

AN OBSERVATION ON THE ALLOY OF THE *GHITRIFI* COINS

The students of Islamic numismatics are well informed about the *dirhams* struck in Bukhara during the short administration of the 'Abbasid governor Ghitrif ibn 'Ata al-Kindi (792–793), and called after his name *ghitrifi*. To my knowledge no attempt has been made to determine the alloy of which these coins were minted. Up to the present no coin has come to light which could be identified as a *ghitrifi*.¹ Therefore, such an attempt must be based on historical accounts of which several are extant, and which form two distinctly conflicting groups.

One of the earliest authorities of the first group who mentions the *ghitrifi dirhams* is al-Istakhri. In his famous geographical work written ca. 933, the author refers briefly to these coins as being minted "of iron, copper, lead, and so on, of various substances."² More generous is the Iranian historian al-Narshakhi whose history of Bukhara dates from the year 943/4. According to him, the silver coins struck by the local ruler, Bukhar-Khudat Kana, were disappearing from circulation which caused the citizens to petition the governor to issue new currency. Continuing, al-Narshakhi states that "at that time silver was dear, consequently the citizens were assembled and their opinion on the matter was sought. They agreed upon the minting of coins (made of) six substances, namely, gold,

¹ J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*, London, 1941, p. cli.

² *Masalik al-Mamalik*, ed. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1870, p. 314, 11.

silver, musk (*sic!*), lead, iron and copper.”³ Approximately two centuries later al-Sam‘ani (died 1166), while writing about Ghitrif ibn‘Ata al-Kindi, refers to his coins and repeats the formula recorded by al-Narshakhi.⁴

As J. Walker has already pertinently remarked, this formula “may be regarded as fanciful.”⁵ Therefore it will serve no purpose to speculate about the metallurgical possibilities of such an admixture.⁶ How this imaginary formula originally came to be recorded in historical sources is, of course, difficult to determine. It is not impossible, however, that it may have been purposely devised in the administrative circles of the governor and disseminated among the populace who were, as al-Narshakhi intimates, skeptical about the value of new coins and were refusing to accept them. The inclusion of musk among the metallic elements is in itself an absurdity.⁷ This odoriferous substance was highly

³ *Ta'rikh Bukhara*, ed. Ch. Schefer, (*Publication de l'école des langues orientales vivantes*, III série, vol. XIII), Paris, 1892, p. 35, 5.

⁴ *Kitab al-Ansab*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, Leyden, 1938, fol. 410r, 20.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ See the interpretation of R. Blake in his paper “The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East down to the Mongol Invasion,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, II, 1937, pp. 301f.

⁷ As an interesting parallel I would like to call attention to an alloy recorded by Islamic writers of the Middle Ages under the term *haft-jush*. It was allegedly composed of seven metals and possessed magical properties. Historical accounts about this imaginary alloy will be presented in the first volume of my *Corpus of Islamic Metalwork*. To illustrate the danger of accepting the accounts of medieval authors at their face value, the following example is characteristic. Ibn Batutta (*Tuhfat al-Nuzzar fi Gharā'ib al-Amsar wa 'Aja'ib al-Asfar*, ed. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, Paris, 1853–58, III, p. 150, 7) who visited Delhi in the year 1342, relates that a learned Indian told him that the famous pillar standing in the court of the great mosque has been made of “*haft-jush* . . . meaning seven metals.” This pillar, originally erected about 415 A. D. by Kumaragupta I, probably in Mathura, is made not of an alloy, but of iron. Sir Robert Hadfield's chemical

valued by the Orientals, and hence possibly it was believed that the pretense of its presence in the alloy of the coins would attract the trust of the citizenry. In any event the true nature of *ghitrifi*'s alloy has been transmitted by the second group of the historical accounts.

Al-Ya'qubi, who wrote in the year 891 his geographical book, thus one century after the issue of the coins in question, states in the passage on Bukhara that "their *dirhams* resemble copper."⁸ Of decisive importance for the problem is the occasional remark of the great Islamic scholar, al-Biruni. "One of the unusual occurrences of the time is," says al-Biruni, "that *ghitrifiyya* be equal to the silver *dirhams* in value and sometimes to exceed them; and the *ghitrifiyyas* are nothing but *fulus* struck of mixed copper."⁹ We are informed of the metallurgical content of this "mixed copper" by Gardizi, a Khorasanian historian of the early eleventh-century. Here is what the author says: "*diram-i musayyibi* are called after him (*e.i.* Musayyib ibn Zuhayr), like *ghitrifi* are called so after Ghitrif ibn'Ata al-Kindi, and *muhammadi* after Muhammad ibn Dahda, and (all) these *dirhams* are a mixture of copper and lead."¹⁰

Now in view of this second group of accounts we may conclude, with a certain degree of justification,

analysis disclosed that it is of 99.720 per cent iron and the rest is formed of carbon silicon, sulphur and phosphorus; see J. A. Page, *An Historical Memoir on the Qutb: Delhi*, (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 22), Calcutta, 1926, p. 10, note 1.

⁸ *Kitab al-Buldan*, ed. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1892, p. 293,3.

⁹ *Kitab al-Jamahir fi Ma'rifat al-Jawahir*, ed. F. Krenkow, Haydarabad, 1355, p. 246,7.

¹⁰ *Zayn al-Akhbar*, quoted by W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongolian Invasion*, London, 1928, p. 205, note 6.

that the *ghitrifi dirhams* were minted of an alloy of copper and lead. A detail in al-Narshakhi's account is of interest in this regard: "the old *dirhams* of Bukhar-Khudat were of pure silver, whereas these (*ghitrifs*) soon became black in their color."¹¹ This observation indirectly confirms the statement of Gardizi. The alloy of copper and lead was well known to Islamic metallurgy. Although the two metals do not unite easily in all proportions, nevertheless it is not difficult to produce a well-fused alloy with an equal, or even excessive, amount of lead. Such an alloy will at first be whitish in color, but in the course of time it will turn black. This seems to have been the case with the *ghitrifi dirhams*.

MEHMET AGA-OGLU

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

THE BALLANTINE BEQUEST OF DECORATIONS

Among the outstanding additions during 1945 is a collection of 107 decorations formed by Lt. John H. Ballantine, Jr., (our first gold-star member), who was killed in action in December 1944 in the Pacific. Lt. Ballantine's medals are attractively mounted in five frames and these have now been placed on the east wall of the balcony of our small exhibition room. Hanging with them are three framed citations. Two of these citations have the actual decoration mounted in a space reserved for them at the bottom. The citations are:

The Order of the Lily

Signed: Charles Philippe, December 14, 1814
(with the decoration)

The Order of the Medjidie

Issued to Frenchmen for service in the Crimean War
Signed: Napoleon, April 17, 1857
(with the decoration)

The Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour

Signed: Napoleon, August 11, 1864.

A considerable number of the decorations in this bequest are new to the Society's cabinet. One of the frames is devoted to the badges of the Legion of Honour; it contains six specimens, including the Commander's gold neck-badge of ornate design and the Officer's miniature of Louis XVIII, both of which are new to our collection; the other four provide variations.

Among the other pieces are the following:

Italy—Order of the Crown.

Great Britain—Companion of the Order of the Bath, Military.

France—Medal of Honour, Civil, 3rd Republic.

Baden—Grand-Duke Frederick, General Medal of Honour.

Mecklenburg-Schwerin—Military Cross of Merit, 1870, Badge.

Saxony—Ernestine Line, Silver Cross of Merit.

Siam—Order of the Myriad of Elephants and White Umbrellas, with Commander's Neck Ribbon.

Tunis—Order of Nichan Iftikhar, Officer.

Rumania—Decoration of Carol II.

There are many new bars among the English military medals; one for the Khedive's star, five for the Sudan 1896–1905 medal, three for French Colonial campaigns and one for the Netherlands Medal for Military Merit. The British Campaign Medal for the Crimea had five bars issued, occurring singly or in groups of three or four. The Society owned five specimens and there are four others in this collection, yet not one of the nine displays the same combination of bars.

WILLIAM L. CLARK



15



17



18



SELEUCID COINS OF AKE-PTOLEMAIS



19



20



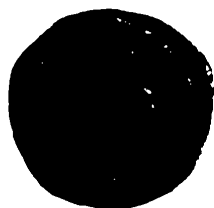
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22



SELEUCID COINS OF AKE-PTOLEMAIS



24



25



26



27



28



SELEUCID COINS OF AKE-PTOLEMAIS



1



2



3

BRONZE COINS OF TIMARCHUS



15



16



17



GREEK ACQUISITIONS, 1945



1



2



3



4



SELEUCID COINS OF AKE-PTOLEMAIS



5



8



10



SELEUCID COINS OF AKE-PTOLEMAIS



11



12



14



SELEUCID COINS OF AKE-PTOLEMAIS



4



5



6

BRONZE COINS OF TIMARCHUS



MEDALLION OF CARACALLA



MEDALLION OF CARACALLA



1



2



3

ROMAN MEDALLIONS



4



5



MEDALLION OF PROBUS BRONZE OF APAMEA



1



2



3

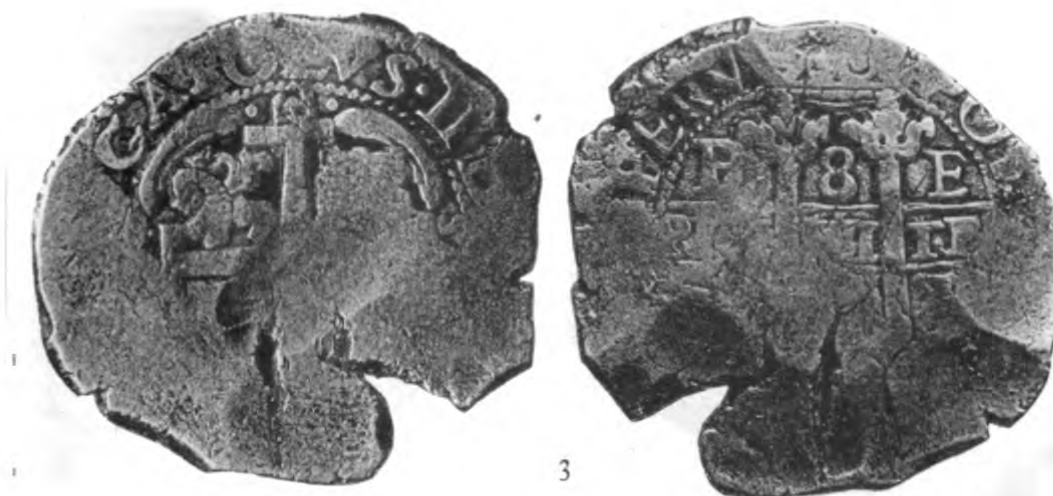
POTOSI "COBS"



1



2



3

POTOSI "COBS"



1



2



3

LIMA "COBS"



1



2



3



LIMA "COBS"



MISCELLANEOUS ACCESSIONS 1945



7



8



9



11



10



11

MISCELLANEOUS ACCESSIONS 1945

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THE
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MUSEUM NOTES

II



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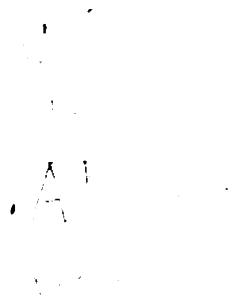
is a publication consisting principally of brief notes and papers on numismatic items in the Society's collection. It is prepared by the Staff and Members of the American Numismatic Society.

THE
AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
MUSEUM NOTES
II



THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
BROADWAY AT 156TH STREET
NEW YORK
1947

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DATED COINS OF PTOLEMY V,
204-180 B.C.

(SEE PLATES I-II)

IMMEDIATELY after the accession of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, the mint of Alexandria began to strike a series of coins bearing the portrait of the king or of one or the other of his parents, Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III. The very first issues, gold octadrachms with the portrait of Arsinoe and silver tetradrachms with portraits of either Ptolemy IV or V,¹ were not dated. It is clear, however, that they formed the prelude to the dated group² since both groups are exactly similar in style and types and bear the signature of the same monetary magistrate, N I. As Svoronos has pointed out, the occurrence of a few undated pieces preceding a dated series is elsewhere demonstrable in Ptolemaic numismatics, e.g., undated gold octadrachms of Arsinoe II.³ Such pieces were doubtless issued before the decision to date the coins had been taken.

The dated coinage comprises first a group of three issues, gold octadrachms with the portrait of Arsinoe III and silver tetradrachms with the portrait of Ptolemy IV or V, like their undated predecessors but bearing on the reverse the regnal year A(1). Then in year B(2), no coin with the portrait of Arsinoe is recorded by Svoronos, the group consisting of gold octadrachms with Ptolemy V's por-

¹ J. N. Svoronos, *Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων*, Taxis Δ, Seira A, Pl. XLII, 1-3.

² Svoronos, *op. cit.*, Taxis Δ, Seira A, Pl. XLII, 4-17.

³ Svoronos, *op. cit.*, Pl. XV, 6.

trait and silver tetradrachms with those of Ptolemy IV or V. In the following years, Ptolemy V alone is represented on the coinage, silver tetradrachms and gold octadrachms. Of the latter only years B(2), Δ(4) and ⊙(8) are recorded in Svoronos. Thus throughout this series of Alexandrian coins signed by the mint official, N I, Ptolemy V's portrait occurs on silver tetradrachms, at first undated, then dated from years A(1) to M(12), alphabetic numeration. The years Γ(3), E(5), Ι(6), K(10) and Λ(11) are lacking in Svoronos.

These coins are today, for the most part, rare. The gold octadrachms with Arsinoe's portrait are great rarities, but, as might be expected, the silver tetradrachms with Ptolemy V's portrait, which formed the backbone of the series, are more abundant. A few examples are described below and illustrated on PLATE I, the Arsinoe gold octadrachm in Vienna and three Epiphanes tetradrachms from the Newell Bequest in the American Numismatic Society. These will suffice for this article, which is not concerned with adding any new specimens to the corpus of Svoronos, but with a brief note on the long-drawn-out discussion by modern historians as to the dates of Ptolemy's reign and application of the now correctly ascertained years to his dated coinages, with the exception of the bronze and the gold octadrachms with types of Arsinoe II.

According to the Canon of the Kings,⁴ Ptolemy

⁴ W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age* (1931), pp. 492-3; K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 2te Aufl., IV², p. 166.

V came to the throne between October 13, 205, and October 12, 204 B.C. (Egyptian year), but his accession is related by Polybius in Book XV of his *Histories*, which covers the events of the year 203/202 B.C. This discrepancy in our ancient sources has been the subject of prolonged debate among modern historians, who quite naturally have reached different conclusions. Hence one finds Ptolemy's rule dated variously as 205/4–181/0, 204–181, 203–181 or 203–180. Many scholars have held that the testimony of Polybius is to be preferred to that of the Canon, and the date of enthronement is frequently given as 203 B.C.⁵

Recently the problem has been re-examined by Bikerman,⁶ who presents succinctly his analysis of the historical and documentary evidence and finds a way to reconcile the conflicting testimony of the Canon and Polybius. He shows that as Ptolemy's death occurred in his twenty-fifth regnal year, in 180 B.C., he became king in 204 B.C., i.e., in the Egyptian year 205/4, as given by the Canon. This, according to Dinsmoor, is the only year astronomically possible.⁷ A papyrus in Paris enables Bikerman to date Ptolemy's accession even more precisely, between March 12 and September 8, 204.

⁵ Holleaux in *Cambridge Ancient History* VIII (1930), p. 149 and bibliography, pp. 743–4, also *Études d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire Grecque* III (1942), p. 319, note 2. Bevan-Mahaffy, *History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1927), gives 203–181 and Poole, *B.M.C. Ptolemies* (1883), gives 204–181.

⁶ E. Bikerman, "L'Avènement de Ptolémée V Épiphanes," *Chronique d'Égypte* No. 29 (1940), pp. 124–131.

⁷ Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 492–3.

For his explanation of how Polybius happened to narrate the accession among the events of 203/2, see his article, pp. 129-131. The Alexandrian and other coinages with regnal years can now be given their true dates.

MINT OF ALEXANDRIA

N I Series

GROUP I, UNDATED COINS

Undated Tetradrachm, 204 B.C.

1. Bust of Ptolemy V to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
wearing diadem and chla- Eagle standing to l. on thun-
mys; border of dots.⁸ derbolt, between his legs, N I;
border of dots.⁸

A. N. S., Newell Bequest. Svor., Pl. XLII, 3. PLATE I, 1

GROUP II, DATED COINS, A to M

Dated Gold Octadrachm, year A(1)=204 B.C.

2. Draped bust of Arsinoe ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟ-
III to r. wearing stephane ΡΟΣ. Single cornucopiae
with tie-ends (but no dia- with fillet or diadem ends
dem), earrings and necklace; and filled with fruits; above,
across her left shoulder, scep- six-pointed star; in l. field,
ter. N I; below, A.

Vienna. Svor., Pl. XLII, 4.

PLATE I, 2

Dated Tetradrachm, year ☉ (8)=197 B.C.

(Egyptian year, Autumn 198-Autumn 197 B.C.).

3. Similar to No. 1. Large ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
die crack on head. Similar to No. 1; in l. field,
☉.

A. N. S., Newell Bequest. Svor., Pl. XLII, 15. PLATE I, 3

⁸ Border of dots appears on obverse and reverse of all coins listed herein. A. N. S. specimen lacks stalk of corn on diadem.

Dated Tetradrachm, year M(12)=193 B.C.

(Egyptian year, Autumn 194–Autumn 193 B.C.).

4. Similar; on the diadem, a ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
stalk of corn. Similar; in l. field, M.

A. N. S., Newell Bequest. Svor., Pl. XLII, 17. PLATE I, 4.

It so happens that Svoronos gave the same dating as above,⁹ for his mistake, year M(12)=195 B.C., was corrected to 193 B.C. in his Supplement.¹⁰ But he arrived at 204 B.C. as the accession date by reasoning as follows. The dated N I series and the mint-marked issues of Phoenicia and Coele-Syria (Taxis Δ, Seira B), some of which bear the mint signature NI characteristic of the dated class, were “all intended chiefly for the provincial cities.” Since Ptolemy “renounced his control” over Phœnicia and Coele-Syria in 192 B.C. when he married Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus III, the preceding year, 193 B.C., was the last in which he could strike coins in this provincial territory. Therefore, M(12), the last letter-date appearing on the A to M coins, must equal 193 and consequently Ptolemy took the diadem in 204.

But the tetradrachms and gold octadrachms with regnal years A to M are a group of issues of uniform style which differs from that of the mint-marked coins, even though some of the latter, Berytus, Damascus, Sidon, Tripolis and Tyre, are signed N I like the dated class. The monetary official, N I, was obviously a mintmaster, who at

⁹ Svoronos, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 211–3.

¹⁰ Svoronos, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 425.

the time supervised all the issues wherever struck, not merely a local magistrate. Moreover, the provincial issues came to an end in 200 B.C. or a year or two later, when Antiochus completed the conquest of Phoenicia and Coele-Syria. The dated coins were certainly struck in Egypt as was recognized by Poole in the *B.M.C. Ptolemies*, and by Newell, who labelled his ticket for No. 4 in our list ALEXANDRIA.

Svoronos also believed that the coins with the portraits of Philopator and Arsinoe confirmed the accession date as given by the Canon, 205/4, as well as that derived from Polybius' narrative under 203/2. In this latter year, Agathocles and Sosibius, the all-powerful court officials, announced the deaths of Ptolemy's parents after having kept their demise secret for two whole years, and proclaimed young Ptolemy as king. Philopator must have abdicated in favor of Epiphanes in 204 under pressure of Agathocles and Sosibius and then appointed them as regents. During the interval, 204-202, there were issued in 204 and 203 the coins with the portraits of Philopator and Arsinoe, who though dead were presented on the coins as still living and ruling. This, he thought, was proved by the arrangement of the inscriptions on their coins. Philopator's inscription reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on the right downwards, ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ on the left upwards, the regular disposition on coins of a living ruler. If Arsinoe had been regarded as dead, her inscription would have read ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ upwards on the left, ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ downwards on the right,

as on the posthumous gold octadrachms of Arsinoe II. In stating that there was no other instance in the whole Ptolemaic coinage of the above *Basileos Ptolemaiou* arrangement on coins of a dead king, Svoronos overlooked the gold octadrachms of Ptolemy III struck after his death by Ptolemy IV. In the review of Svoronos by Regling,¹¹ Ptolemy's reign is dated 205/4–181/0 B.C. and Regling accepts Svoronos' view that the coins with portraits of the Philopator couple represent them as officially still living though no longer ruling. Happily this fantastic theory is now in the discard.

The wily regents could hardly have made a more diplomatic choice of coin types for the first issue struck for the child-king than the portraits of the royal couple, who had died in a manner unknown to the populace. Philopator died first under mysterious circumstances, and Arsinoe was secretly murdered at the instigation of Agathocles and the court cabal. When Agathocles and Sosibius publicly acknowledged the deaths of the king and queen, probably after an interval of a few weeks or longer,¹² the people began to suspect the truth about Arsinoe, and their grief over her fate filled them with hatred toward Agathocles. It was perhaps with the intention of calming popular hysteria that Agathocles restored the king and queen to public view by placing their likenesses on the coins.

A few provincial tetradrachms bearing Ptol-

¹¹ *Zeit. für Num.* XXV (1906), p. 375; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 488.

¹² Justin XXX, 2, states that the death of Philopator was concealed by the court favorites for a long time.

emy's portrait and both mint-marks and dates are known. Unlike the dated coins of Alexandria and the mint-marked, but undated, coins of Berytus, etc. previously mentioned, they do not bear the signature of the mint-master, N I.

Dated Provincial Tetradrachms

MINT OF IOPPA, in *Palestine*—year € (5)=200 B.C.

(*Egyptian year, Autumn 201–Autumn 200 B.C.*).

5. Bust of Ptolemy V to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
wearing diadem and chlamys. Eagle standing to l. on thunderbolt; in l. field ΤΘ; in r. field ΛΕ.

Svor. p. 214, No. 1291, Pl. XLIV, 5=B.M.C. *Ptolemies*,
p. 68, Pl. XVI, 1. PLATE II, 5

This is a more mature portrait of Ptolemy; his face is full and only the mouth seems to indicate his youthfulness. He was nine or ten years old at the time, and from this portrait and most of the others on his coinage, it is evident that the die-cutters were not especially skillful in representing him as he must actually have appeared at different periods.

MINT OF PTOLEMAIS(AKE), in *Phoenicia*—year □(6)¹³

199 B.C. (*Egyptian year, Autumn 200–
Autumn 199 B.C.*).

6. Similar. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
Similar; in l. field Π; in r. field Λ.

A. N. S., Newell Bequest, lacking in Svoronos, perhaps unpublished. PLATE II, 6

¹³ In the provinces, cardinal numbers are used, K-20 instead of K-10.

Svoronos, in the text to Vol. II, attributed No. 5 to either Ioppa or Ptolemais, but in Vol. IV, Supplement, pp. 273-75, the monogram was interpreted as the signature of Polycrates, governor of Cyprus (so also Poole in *B.M.C.*). But his name, if it be his, on the coins of Cyprus is not a monogram but ΠΟ. Now that the Newell coin, No. 6, is known, it follows that No. 5 cannot belong to Ptolemais. The mint-mark on No. 6, though faintly seen, is Π, an unusual form, and the coin is labelled PTOLEMAIS on Newell's ticket. On these two coins, the portraits are similar with respect to the size of head and bust and fullness of face. On the Ioppa coin, the ten-year-old boy is depicted with a double chin.

At Citium and Salamis in Cyprus there were issued long series of dated tetradrachms with the portrait of Ptolemy I Soter, the recorded dates of Citium beginning in the 16th regnal year, those of Salamis in the 15th. Two examples from the American Numismatic Society's Newell Bequest are described and illustrated.

Dated "Soter" Tetradrachms

MINT OF CITIUM, in Cyprus, year L I ☉ (19) = 186 B.C.

(*Egyptian year, Autumn 187–Autumn 186 B.C.*).

7. Head of Ptolemy I to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
with diadem and aegis. Eagle standing to l. on
winged thunderbolt; in l. field, ear of corn upwards
above vertical club; in r. field
L I ☉ above K I.

A. N. S., Newell Bequest, lacking in Svoronos, published

by Newell, "Standard Ptolemaic Silver," *Coin Collectors' Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 3, Oct. 1939, Pl. III, 8; cf. Svor., Pl. XLVI, 15, with Isis symbol above club. PLATE II, 7

MINT OF SALAMIS, in Cyprus, year L K Δ (24) = 181 B.C.
(*Egyptian year, Autumn 182–Autumn 181 B.C.*).

8. Similar. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
Similar; in field r. and l.,
caps of the Dioscuri; in l.
field, L K Δ; in r. field, Σ A
above a Macedonian hat
(*kausia*).

A. N. S., Newell Bequest, Svor., No. 1348, Pl. XLV, 23;
Newell, "Standard Ptolemaic Silver," Pl. III, 7.
PLATE II, 8

Year 24 is the last recorded on the coins of both Citium and Salamis although Ptolemy died in his twenty-fifth year, about the month of May, 180 B.C. Therefore, it is possible that no "Soter" coins were struck at these mints from the autumn of 181 to about May 180 B.C.

The stalk of corn on Ptolemy's diadem, cf. No. 4, which occurs sporadically in the Alexandrian series and the undated provincial group supervised by N I, is unusual and may easily be observed on Pl. XVII, 5 of the *B.M.C. Ptolemies*, a beautiful gold octadrachm of year ☉ (8). Poole¹⁴ thought that this symbol and the radiate diadem on gold octadrachms having as reverse type a radiate cornucopiae¹⁵ may signify that Epiphanes was assimilated to Sarapis, who, "as a form of Osiris, would

¹⁴ *B.M.C. Ptolemies*, p. lviii.

¹⁵ Svoronos, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLI, 15, 17–8; *B.M.C. Ptolemies*, Pl. XVII, 1, 2.

be solar, and connected with the concept of productivity." Sarapis is generally regarded as a by-form of Osiris.¹⁶ His cult was fostered if not initiated by Ptolemy I and was centered originally at his temple, the Sarapeum in Memphis. Hence one may perhaps see in the unprecedented stalk of barley or wheat on Ptolemy's diadem¹⁷ a reference to his Egyptian coronation at Memphis, and since the symbol occurs on the first issue (Svor., Pl. XLII, 3), a coin like No. 1 but with symbol on diadem, it would follow that Ptolemy was crowned in the Egyptian rites in his first year, 204 B.C.¹⁸

AGNES BALDWIN BRETT

¹⁶ Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, I, p. 60, "One of the most important forms of Osiris . . . was Āsar-Hep, or Sarapis . . . made by the fusion of the attributes of the old Bull-god Hep," the Apis of Memphis, with those of Osiris. The views of Wilcken, *Urkunde der Ptolemäerzeit*, I, are summarized by Bevan-Mahaffy, *History of Egypt*, pp. 41 f. On Greek monuments, Sarapis usually takes the place of Osiris, see the conjoined busts of Sarapis and Isis with Egyptian head ornaments on the tetradrachms of Ptolemy IV, who introduced this new type and was devoted to the cult of Sarapis (Svor., Pl. XXXVI, 13-15. *B.M.C.*, Pl. XVIII, 8, under Ptolemy VI).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58, "The identification of Osiris as a corn-god is proved by the relief at Philae, in which corn is seen growing out of his mummified body." Diodorus, I, 14, says that Osiris abolished cannibalism and taught the people to sow and raise crops of barley and wheat.

¹⁸ Bikerman, *op. cit.*, dated the Egyptian ceremony Nov. 28, 204 B.C. By March 27, 196 B.C., date of the Rosetta Decree (Dinsmoor *l.c.*, *et al.*), Ptolemy had already been crowned at Memphis, but there are still certain difficulties, which cannot be discussed briefly, connected with the reading of the text of the Decree (Bikerman, *l.c.*, p. 126, n. 5), which make further discussion unprofitable at this time.

A NOTE ON
WESTERN SELEUCID MINTS No. 1310:
ANTIOCHUS II AT TARSUS

(SEE PLATE III)

AN enthusiast for the Seleucid series, Mr. Edmund Zygman, has discovered the correct reading of the second monogram on No. 1310, in Mr. Newell's *Western Seleucid Mints*. Mr. Newell has given the two specimens known to him, one in Berlin, one in Munich. Their respective weights are 16.87 and 17.02 gr. The latter is shown on PLATE III, 2 (Pl. XLIX, No. 8, in *Western Seleucid Mints*). This type bears the portrait of Antiochus II, and was struck at the Tarsus mint. According to Mr. Newell the monograms are **Ν** and **Δ** (or **Α**). The second monogram on the Munich piece is obscure, being somewhat off-flan and worn—therefore, the element of doubt.

Mr. Zygman has found a third coin of this issue (PLATE III, 1). This new specimen is from the same dies as the Munich coin. Its weight is gr. 17.03. It is in finer condition and is also well-centered, so that the second monogram is clearly legible, and the reading is plainly **Α**. Thus we have Mr. Newell's alternative reading definitely confirmed as the correct one. I have acquired this latest example, and take pleasure in placing this information before students of the Seleucid series.

ADRA M. NEWELL

ROMAN AND BYZANTINE ACQUISITIONS, 1946

(SEE PLATES IV-VI)

DURING 1946 the Museum received a gift of forty-one Roman coins from M. Paul Tinchant, and Mr. H. W. Bell presented one hundred and forty-three coins of the late Roman and Byzantine periods from Theodosius I to Michael VII. Other pieces were acquired by purchase.¹ Of these acquisitions, we list below a selection, namely, coins which are not in the major catalogues, varieties of coins in the major catalogues, and coins which for other reasons are considered worthy of publication.

In this list, description has generally been limited to a statement of the differences between these pieces and similar pieces in the major catalogues.

1. GALBA (68-69 A.D.). As. Var. B.M.C. 147.
Laureate head.
↓ 28 mm. 11.42 grms. *Tinchant Gift.*
2. TRAJAN (98-117 A.D.). Dupondius. Var. B.M.C. 914.
Drapery on both shoulders; ten vertical bars on arched span.
↓ 27 mm. 15.55 grms. *Purchase. PLATE IV.*
3. TRAJAN. As. Var. B.M.C. 926.
No drapery.
↓ 27 mm. 11.77 grms. *Tinchant Gift.*

¹ A hoard of imperial sestertii found on Cape Matafu near Algiers and purchased early in 1946 is published separately on pp. 35-51.

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4. HADRIAN (117-138 A.D.). Denarius. Var. B.M.C. 74.
 Aegis on l. shoulder.
 ✓ 19 mm. 3.6 grms. *Tinchant Gift.* PLATE IV.
5. HADRIAN. Quinarius. Var. B.M.C. 229 ff.
 Bust draped l.
 ↓ 15 mm. 1.17 grms. *Tinchant Gift.*
6. HADRIAN. Dupondius. Not in B.M.C. or Cohen; cf. *sestertius*, B.M.C. No. 1105 and Cohen 740.
 Bust radiate, cuir., r., slight drapery on l. shoulder.
 IMP CAES DIVI TRAIAN AVG F TRAIAN
 HADRIAN OPT AVG GER. Continuous legend.
 Rev. Fortuna veiled, seated l., holding rudder on ground in r. hand and cornucopiae in l.
 DAC PARTHICO PM TR P COS PP. Continuous legend.
 SC. In ex., FORT RED.
 ↓ 28 mm. 15.82 grms. *Tinchant Gift.* PLATE IV.
7. HADRIAN. Denarius. Var. B.M.C. 805.
 Ibis r., on column, in front of Aegyptos.
 ✓ 18.5 mm. 3.00 grms. *Tinchant Gift.* PLATE IV.
8. ANTONINUS PIUS (138-161 A.D.). Denarius. Var. B.M.C. 50.
 Laureate head.
 ↓ 19 mm. 3.08 grms. *Purchase.*
9. ANTONINUS PIUS. As. Var. B.M.C. 1370; Cohen 887.
 Laureate head to l.
 ↑ 27 mm. 10.8 grms. *Purchase.*
10. ANTONINUS PIUS. Quadrans. Var. B.M.C. 1392 and Cohen 176.
 Obv. of B.M.C. 1392 and apparently rev. Cohen 176.
 Head laureate, r.
 ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TR P
 Rev. Peacock, tail spread, standing r.; eagle standing front, head r.; owl standing r., body inclined l., head facing.
 ↓ 19 mm. 2.54 grms. *Tinchant Gift.* PLATE IV.

11. ANTONINUS PIUS. As. Var. B.M.C. 1624-1625.
Slight drapery on r. and l. shoulders; sow suckling
five young.
↑ 27 mm. 10.62 grms. *Tinchant Gift.* PLATE IV.
12. FAUSTINA I. Denarius. Var. B.M.C. 328.
Head, diademed and veiled, r.
↙ 19 mm. 3.70 grms.
13. M. AURELIUS (161-180 A.D.). Dupondius. B.M.C.
1615.
↘ 29 mm. 14.22 grms. *Tinchant Gift.*
14. COMMODUS (176-192 A.D.). Sestertius. Not in
B.M.C. or Cohen for this date.
Head laureate r. [M] COMMODVS ANT P
FELIX AVG [BRIT].
Break in legend only between ANT and P. PD off
flan below bust?
Rev. Roma or Virtus facing, head l., Victory facing
her on extended r., long spear, inverted and resting on
ground, in l. PM TRP XI IMP VIII COS V PP. Low
i.f., S.C.
↑ 27.5 mm. 20.95 grms. *Tinchant Gift.* PLATE V.
15. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193-211 A.D.). Denarius.
M.S. 14; Cohen 272.
↗ 17 mm. 3.15 grms. *Purchase.* PLATE V.
16. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS. Denarius. M.S. 286; Cohen
591.
↓ 20 mm. 3.20 grms. *Purchase.* PLATE V.
17. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS. Denarius. Var. M.S. 425.
Obverse legend as on p. 145, No. 404a: IMP CA L
SEP SE V PER AVG COS II. Only break in legend
between SE and V.
↑ 20 mm. 3.40 grms. *Tinchant Gift.*
18. CARACALLA (198-218 A.D.). As. Var. (?) M.S.
476b; Cohen 623 (obv. descr. complete?).
Laureate, draped bust r., with cuirass and aegis.
↓ 24 mm. 9.35 grms.

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19. SEVERUS ALEXANDER (222-235 A.D.). Denarius.
 Var. M.S. 19; Cohen 229.
 Laureate bust with cuirass and paludamentum.
 ↓ 17 mm. 3.44 grms. *Tinchant Gift.*
20. SEVERUS ALEXANDER. Denarius. Var. M.S. 263;
 Cohen 201.
 Laureate bust with cuirass and paludamentum.
 ↑ 17 mm. 2.52 grms.
21. ARCADIUS (383-408 A.D.). Semissis. Not in Sabatier; cf. Tolstoi 41 (a tremissis; on weight and denom. of this piece, see Ratto Sale Cat., Dec. 9, 1930, p. 2, note to lot 10).
 Victory writing on shield: VOT/V/MVL/X; in front of Victory, Christian monogram.
 ↓ 17 mm. 2.21 grms. *Purchase. PLATE V.*
22. ARCADIUS. Tremissis. Tolstoi 42; cf. Sabatier 21; Ratto Sale Cat., Dec. 9, 1930, lots 11 and 39; Glendinning Sale, Mar. 1931, lot 368.
 ↓ 15 mm. 1.45 grms. *Bell Collection. PLATE V.*
23. THEODOSIUS II (408-450 A.D.). Solidus. Tolstoi 32, Ratto Sale Cat., Dec. 9, 1930, lot 159; Cahn Sale Cat. 80, Feb. 27, 1933, lot 1035.
 ↓ 21 mm. 4.37 grms. *Bell Collection. PLATE V.*
24. ZENO (474-491 A.D.). Solidus. Var. Sabatier 1 and Tolstoi 18. Ratto Sale Cat., Dec., 9, 1930, lot 288.
Rev. legend: VICTORI AAVGGG followed by S in prone position.
 ↓ 20 mm. 4.4 grms. *Bell Collection. PLATE V.*
25. BASILISCUS AND MARCUS (475-477 A.D.). Solidus. Var. Sabatier 2 and Tolstoi 89-92.
 ↓ 21 mm. 4.32 grms. *Bell Collection. PLATE VI.*
26. JUSTINIAN I (527-565 A.D.). Silver. Tolstoi 55; Ratto Sale Cat., Dec., 9, 1930, lot 470; Hamburger Sale Cat. 96, Oct. 25, 1932, lot 1097; larger denom., B.M.C. 26.
 ↓ 20 mm. 2.43 grms. *Purchase. PLATE VI.*

27. HERACLIUS (610-641 A.D.) and HERACLIUS CONSTANTINE (613-641 A.D.). Silver. Ex. Hirsch Sale Cat. 31, 1912, lot 2158; cf. Sabatier 60; Tolstoi 223-224, which are larger and heavier and differ in detail on both obverse and reverse.

Heraclius (on l.) and Heraclius Constantine (on r.) standing facing. Each wears long robes and crown with cross and holds in r. globus cruciatus. Heraclius is bearded. Between and above them, in field, square cross. Inscription bearing names of the emperors.

Rev. Cross patée above three steps; to l. and r. palm branches with taeniae. In r. field, o. Border of dots.

↓ 18 mm. 2.08 grms. *Bell Collection.* PLATE VI.

28. CONSTANS II (641-668 A.D.) and CONSTANTINE IV (654-685 A.D.). Solidus. This variety with Zeta and Cross on rev. does not appear in the B.M.C., in Svoronos' list (*Journ. Int. d'Arch. Num.* VII, 1904, pp. 157-158), in Tolstoi or Sabatier. Cf. B.M.C. 64; Tolstoi 318 ff.; see also Ratto Sale Cat., Dec. 9, 1930, lot 1611 (Zeta, but no cross).

↓ 20 mm. 4.36 grms. *Bell Collection.* PLATE VI.

29. CONSTANS II. Semissis. Carthage (see B.M.C. I, pp. 292-293, note 1).

Rev. legend: VICTORIA AVGΘI: in r. field, Λ. Cf. Tolstoi 86 (semissis) and 100 (tremissis); Ratto Sale Cat., Dec. 9, 1930, lots 1526-1529; lot 1530 (tremissis) has Λ.

↓ 17 mm. 2.07 grms. *Bell Collection.* PLATE VI.

30. CONSTANTINE IX (1042-1055 A.D.). Silver. Sabatier 9 (Pl. XLIX, 12), where the mark on either side of the theta, and to right of X, does not appear. Cf. a smaller denom., with variations in detail, B.M.C. 18; the same denom. in Ratto Sale Cat., Dec. 9, 1930, lot 1990.

Pierced just l. of X.

↓ 26 mm. 2.09 grms. *Bell Collection.* PLATE VI.

31. MICHAEL VII, DUCAS (1070-1078 A.D.). Nomisma (scyphate). Cf. B.M.C. 3. Labarum and nimbus cruci-

atus have five pellets. Book of gospels has five pellets and four strokes radiating from center pellet on cover.

↓ 27 mm. 4.31 grms. *Bell Collection*. PLATE VI.

Among the year's acquisitions were the following unusual plated pieces:

- a. GALBA. Denarius. Head laur. r. IMP SER GALBA CAESAR AVG. Continuous legend.

Rev. Concordia seated l. CONCO[R] DIAPR

↓ 20 mm. 2.82 grms.

This "Concordia" type appears on the coins of Vitellius, of the mint of Rome.

The obverse legend of this coin seems to be peculiar to the Roman mint.

- b. HADRIAN. Denarius. Var. B.M.C. No. 786. Head laur. r. (B.M.C. type "f").

Rev. ADVENTVI AVG AFRICA (*sic*); cf. B.M.C. *Addenda*, p. 563, a piece from Trau Sale, May, 1935.

↓ 19.5 mm. 3.18 grms.

- c. ANTONINUS PIUS. Denarius. Var. B.M.C. 243. Head bare r.

↓ 17 mm. 2.51 grms.

ALINE ABACHERLI BOYCE

A NEW SESTERTIUS OF DOMITIAN*

(SEE PLATE VII)

IN the collection of Dr. Herbert E. Ives there is a sestertius of Domitian with a variety of the IOVI VICTORI reverse hitherto unknown to us.¹ The striking feature of this specimen is the unmistakable appearance of a second small female figure on the extended right hand of Jupiter, where only a Victory is usually seen. The coin is not double-struck, for the two figures have different attitudes and dimensions, and there is no trace of double-striking elsewhere on the coin. It seems most probable that the second small figure was intended to be another Victory or a Fighting Minerva. The sestertius may be described as follows:

Obv. Head of Domitian, laureate, r. Around rim, IMP-CAESDOMITAVGGERM COS XVIICENS PERPP. Border of dots.

Rev. Jupiter seated l. on backless throne. He holds vertical scepter, resting on ground, in l., and on r. hand a small figure standing l. with r. arm upraised. To r. of her, on Jupiter's wrist, a Victory with wings upraised, stands to l.

* H. Mattingly's *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* will be referred to as *B.M.C. Emp.* I, II, etc.

¹ For the type on bronze see *B.M.C. Emp.* II, pp. 362, * (COS XI); p. 369, nos. 327-28 (COS XI CENS POT); p. 380, no. 373 (COS XII CENS PER); p. 386, * (COS XIII CENS PER); p. 388, nos. 406-7 (COS XIII CENS PER); p. 398, nos. 439-42 (COS XV CENS PER); p. 403, nos. 464-464A (COS XVI CENS PER); p. 406, nos. 474-75 (COS XVII CENS PER). It may be pointed out that our sestertius does not represent the only known variant from the usual type, for the legends IVP PITER CVSTOS and IOVIS VIRTVTI have been reported (*B.M.C. Emp.* II, pp. xciv and 388, note to 406; and L. G. P. Messinger, "Some Unpublished Roman Bronze Coins," in *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. 5, Vol. 6 (1926), pp. 327-28, no. 19).

Along l. rim, low down, IOVI. Along r. rim, VICTORI. In exergue, SC. Border of dots. 33 mm. 24.05 grms. PLATE VII.

The representation of two figures on the hand of the chief deity of a type is not unknown. At Alexandria, Messalina represented as Ceres holds two small figures not very clearly delineated and consequently difficult to identify. On bronze coins of Septimius Severus at Smyrna, Cybele holds two figures identified as Nemeses.² And at Philippiopolis in Arabia two small figures (deities of the imperial cult?) standing on an eagle appear on the hand of Roma.³

The IOVI VICTORI type appeared on the bronze coinage of Domitian from the eleventh to the seventeenth, or last, consulship, that is, from 85 A. D. until the time of the Emperor's death in 96.⁴ It is part of a large and long series of bronze types celebrating the Emperor's victories. Pieces of COS XVII are evidently rarer than those of the earlier years,⁵ and in the case of our piece, we have evidence that the designer was seeking to express a new idea through this type.

There are difficulties hampering the identification of the second small figure on the hand of Jupiter. She has a flaring skirt which indicates that she

² *Syll. Numm. Graec.*, Copenhagen Coll. IONIA, Pt. III, Pl. 30, no. 1376.

³ *B.M.C. Arabia, etc.*, pp. 42-43.

⁴ See note 1.

⁵ This statement is based on an examination of the photographs from sale catalogues on file at the Museum of the American Numismatic Society.

faces left. The figure has no wings that can certainly be defined as such. The right-hand object which may be one wing or an arm appears more like a round shield in profile and held diagonally. But the figure faces left, like the Victory behind her, and this fact is against the identification of her as a Fighting Minerva; for her right arm is shown raised in the left field of the coin, therefore *in front* of a figure standing left, while the upraised arm with javelin of a Fighting Minerva should in profile appear not at all, or slightly behind her. Either we have a second Victory facing left, with wings almost formless (and examples of similar Victories can be found), or a Fighting Minerva represented awkwardly, partly in profile (to l.) and partly facing. In the upraised arm neither wreath of Victory nor weapon of Minerva is visible.

Once it has been noticed that we have two figures held by Jupiter, one on his wrist, another on his hand, those familiar with the coinage of Domitian must admit that the presence on the hand of Jupiter either of two Victories or of Victory and Minerva is possible.

Should the second figure be a Minerva type, there is some question as to whether it is the Fighting Minerva which appears so frequently on Domitian's coinage, or a Palladium, since no weapon is visible in the upraised right hand.⁶ Often on Roman coins the Palladium terminates in a stiff form without flaring drapery, indicating an archaic *agalma*, doubtless of wood. Our figure has a flaring skirt,

⁶ Fighting Minerva bears a javelin, the Palladium a spear.

which would seem to indicate simply the Fighting Minerva familiar to the point of monotony on Domitian's coinage.⁷ It has, to be sure, been indicated that archaic features were sometimes abandoned in the later representations of the Palladium.⁸ Confirmation of this statement can be found on denarii of Julius Caesar of 48 B.C., where Aeneas is shown bearing a Palladium with flaring skirt.⁹ On coins of Galba, Minerva was represented in both styles. On two asses in the collection of the American Numismatic Society (Newell) the small figure on the hand of Vesta is clearly an archaic Palladium, while on a sestertius representing Victory holding Minerva, the little figure has a flowing skirt.¹⁰ This is the case on other specimens which are clearly struck. Even on poorer specimens it is certain that the figure does not terminate in the narrowing lines characteristic of the archaic Palladium. Galba's coins seem to indicate an archaic Palladium with Vesta but a Fighting Minerva type with Victory.

⁷ More familiar from Domitian's gold and silver coinage but also appearing on the bronze of 81 and 82 A.D., i.e., before the Domitianic reorganization of the mint or part of the mint (cf. *B.M.C. Emp.* II, pp. lxxxix-xc). For a recent discussion of this type on the coins and its meaning, see Gilbert Ch. Picard, "Domitien sacrifiant sur un médaillon d'El Djem," in *Rev. Arch.*, Ser. 6, Vol. XXVI, July-Sept. 1946, p. 66.

⁸ J. Sieveking in Roscher's *Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. III, pt. 1, s.v. *Palladion i.d. Kunst*, cols. 1331-1332.

⁹ H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, vol. II, p. 469, nos. 31 ff. (East).

¹⁰ Cf. *B.M.C. Emp.* I, Pl. 58, no. 3 (Vesta), and pl. 56, no. 6 (Victory).

From a sufficiency of good specimens it is certain that all three Flavians struck the archaic *agalma* on their coinage. Notable is the manner in which the ancient Palladium was represented on their accession coinage.¹¹ In some instances of the Vesta types, on the other hand, one cannot be sure that this kind of Palladium was represented. On the coinage of succeeding emperors both the archaic Palladium and the Palladium with flaring skirt, like the ordinary Fighting Minerva type, were held on the hand of Vesta. Any association with Vesta, of course, assures the certainty of the identification of the figure as the Palladium. Domitian's frequent use of the several types of Minerva on his coinage discourages us from supposing that the figure on our sestertius is a Palladium.¹² But not to be overlooked is the fact that two Victories crowning a Palladium form the central motif of a cuirass on several statues of emperors (dating before and after Domitian) and that a (suspect?) sestertius of Nero

¹¹ Vespasian, *B.M.C. Emp.* II, p. 126, no. 586 (Pl. 23. 1); p. 191, no. 786 (Pl. 36. 2); p. 194, ¶ and p. 198, no. 804. Cf. Titus, *op. cit.*, p. 260, no. 188 (Pl. 49. 7). Domitian, *op. cit.*, p. 355, no. 265 (Pl. 68. 9).

¹² Fighting Minerva; Fighting Minerva on prow; Minerva standing with spear; with shield at her side. But in discussing the evidence for Domitian's cult of Minerva, especially as a warrior and victory goddess, Gilbert Ch. Picard ("Domitien sacrifiant sur un médaillon d'El Djem (Tunisie)," in *Rev. Arch.*, Ser. 6, Vol. XXVI, July-Sept. 1946, p. 64) points out that there is little difference between other archaic warrior statues of Athena and the Palladium. Not only as a warrior, but as a man of superstitious devotion, Domitian was attracted to the archaic statues of the goddess in action: "car ses *xoana* armés possédaient aux yeux des fidèles une vertu magique."

shows Victory holding a Fighting Minerva.¹³ The figure could not be the type of Minerva represented in the Emperor's household shrine on the coinage, for Minerva is there represented as holding owl and long spear.¹⁴ She is not, furthermore, the Minerva of the Capitolium (which the Flavians restored), for the sceptre of this Minerva, like those of Capitoline Jupiter and Juno, is at rest on the ground.¹⁵ Closer to our figure, if a Minerva, was the goddess of Domitian's equestrian statue in the Forum, held on the Emperor's hand (Statius, *Silvae*, I, 1, lines 37-40; cf. Martial, *Epigr.* VII, 1, 2). This is true chiefly because of her position on the Emperor's hand, for she was evidently not the usual Fighting Minerva but bore aloft the severed head of Medusa. I quote the passage from Statius:

Dextra vetat pugnas, laevam Tritonia virgo
non gravat et sectae praetendit colla Medusae:
ceu stimulis accendit equum; nec dulcior us-
quam

lecta deae sedes nec si, pater, ipse teneres.

"Your (Domitian's) right hand forbids further battles, the Tritonian maiden (Minerva) is not too heavy for your left; and she holds out the severed

¹³ W. Wroth, "Imperial Cuirass Ornamentation and a Torso of Hadrian," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. VII (1886), pp. 132-133; and for the sestertius of Nero, *B.M.C. Emp.* I, p. 217, note † (Pl. 48. 1).

¹⁴ *B.M.C. Emp.* II, p. 363, no. 296 (Pl. 71. 1); p. 370, no. 332 (Pl. 72. 11).

¹⁵ *B.M.C. Emp.* II, p. 351 (Pl. 68. 3). A sestertius of Titus in the A.N.S. (Newell) Collection shows the figures of the three Capitoline deities clearly.

head of Medusa, as if to goad the horse with it. No resting place does the goddess prefer to your hand, even were it the hand of Jove himself, her father."

This passage from Statius does more than tell us that Domitian in this statue bore a Minerva on his hand; the position on the Emperor's hand is as desirable as if it were the hand of Jupiter! Domitian is equated with Jupiter. Did Statius know of a statue of Jupiter bearing Minerva? Or is the Jupiter Victor of our sestertius really Domitian-Jupiter Victor? Domitian had already, like his patron Minerva, gained possession of Jupiter's fulmen (*B.M.C. Emp.* II, p. 381; p. 389, No. 410).

Perhaps the most definite source on which to base judgment is the association of Victory and Minerva on the coins of Domitian. On some of the earliest gold and silver pieces of the Emperor, Minerva stands draped, holding a spear in one hand, and a Victory in the other. At her side rests her shield. The Victory she holds faces her.¹⁶ On a coin reported by Cohen (found not to be in Paris as he indicates), Domitian was represented standing between Minerva and Victory, who crowns him.¹⁷ And in the same period during which our coin was struck (COS XVII), on a fantastic type of denarius, Minerva and Victory are merged, so to speak, to form a winged Minerva, bringing the two deities into even closer relation.¹⁸

¹⁶ *B.M.C. Emp.* II, p. 301, nos. 12-14 (Pl. 59. 10).

¹⁷ *B.M.C. Emp.* II, p. 404, *: COS XVI.

¹⁸ *B.M.C. Emp.* II, p. 344, no. 237, (TR P XV IMP XXII COS XVII); p. 345, † (TR P XVI IMP XXII COS XVII): Pl. 67. 1 and 3.

There was, of course, an ancient relation between Athena and Nike which was expressed more and more frequently on coins in and after Hellenistic times as Athena Nikephoros. As a matter of fact, the remote prototype of Domitian's winged Minerva may perhaps be found in a gold type of Agathocles or a bronze type of Antiochus III, struck at Susa, or in a later Seleucid type.¹⁹ If Domitian adopted a Seleucid type, it would not be the first instance of direct importation of types from the East, without the medium of earlier Roman coinage, by the Flavians. If the small figure on our sestertius is a Minerva, Victory is simply crowning or heralding the Emperor's personal deity, and any association with the Roman Palladium is secondary, if it is at all present, to a design that, like the fanatic devotion to Minerva, and the winged Minerva type, was wholly peculiar to this one Emperor.

So much for Minerva. Let us now consider the possibility that the second small figure may be a second Victory. If the object on the figure's right represents a poorly executed wing, not raised like the wings of the Victory behind her, but drooping or at rest, our figure may indeed be a second Vic-

¹⁹ For examples of Athena-Nike see Fr. Imhoof-Blumer, "Die Flügelgestalten der Athena und Nike auf Münzen," *Num. Zeit.*, vol. III (1871), pp. 1-50, especially p. 49 and Pl. V; and E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III* (The American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Studies no. 1, New York, 1938), pp. 149, 151, and Pl. XXXI, nos. 11-12. See also Fürtwangler in Roscher's *Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. I, pt. 1, s.v. *Athena i.d. Kunst*, col. 704.

tory, though her wreath in upraised right hand is not visible. The prominence given to Victory coinage by Domitian from 85 A.D.²⁰ and the particularly novel fashion in which two Victories appear on Domitian's later Alexandrian coinage, suggest that the addition of a second Victory on the IOVI VICTORI coins was as plausible a motif as the statues of two triumphal chariots which are found on this emperor's sestertii.²¹

On the Alexandrian bronze of Domitian's last years, called "medallic drachmae" by Milne,²² a single Victory appears as herald on the heads of the elephants drawing the Emperor's chariot.²³ But in representations of two Centaurs drawing the Emperor in a chariot, we have *two* Victories: each Centaur holds a Victory who faces either Centaur or Emperor.²⁴ This Centaur biga type is clearly copied from a little-known motif in representations

²⁰ *B.M.C. Emp.* II, pp. 362 ff.

²¹ *B.M.C. Emp.* II, p. 364, † (Pl. 71. 6): COS XI; p. 407, † (Pl. 81. 1): COS XVII. Two Victories facing each other is, of course, a well-known motif in Roman art. For two Victories to l. and r. of a temple on an aureus of Domitian, see *B.M.C. Emp.* II, p. 343, no. 229 (Pl. 66.16): cf. a temple on coins of Alexandria, where Victories stand above the l. and r. angles of the pediment (Dattari, *Num. Augg. Alexandrini: Cat. della Collez. G. Dattari*, Cairo, 1901, p. 35, no. 555, Pl. XXIX), and also the cuirass motif mentioned on pp. 25–26 of this article.

²² J. G. Milne, *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1933, p. xxxvi.

²³ G. Dattari, *op. cit.*, p. 29, nos. 460–62; Milne, *op. cit.*, p. 15, no. 528 (Pl. V).

²⁴ Dattari, *op. cit.*, p. 28, nos. 452–54 (Pl. VII); Milne, *op. cit.*, p. 15, no. 523. For a discussion of the type and of Domitian as Heracles, see J. Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, Stuttgart, 1924, vol. I, p. 54.

of Heracles,²⁵ and it associates the Emperor with that hero. The Centaur biga with its two little Victories first appears on the Alexandrian coinage in the year IF (August 93–August 94 A.D.).²⁶ Dr. Ives' sestertius was struck in 95 A.D. Perhaps the boldness of the Alexandrian coinage (whose new character must have been primarily due to Rome) had some reciprocal effect on the Roman imperial types such as Jupiter Victor. The elaboration of victory symbols is evident at both Rome and Alexandria. On both imperial and Alexandrian coinage Domitian had been represented in a regular triumphal quadriga,²⁷ but now this conventional motif was evidently not enough. At Rome the two quadrigae on a triumphal arch reappeared.²⁸ At

²⁵ E. Vanderpool, "The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft," *Hesperia*, vol. VII (1938), pp. 393–8. Vanderpool describes a black-figured pyxis showing Heracles driving a team of Centaurs and lists (p. 396, note 1) general references to the motif. I am indebted to Dr. Virginia Grace of the Institute for Advanced Study for calling my attention to this article. Dean George H. Chase informs me that the motif appears on a piece of Arretine pottery in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and is published in his *Catalogue of Arretine Pottery* (no. 9).

²⁶ See note 24 above. The introduction of an imperial Heracles motif at Alexandria in this year may be compared with the first appearance, in the same year, of the club as a reverse type on the imperial didrachm of Caesarea in Cappadocia (A. Baldwin, "Un trésor monétaire découvert à Césarée," *Arethuse*, vol. IV, 1927, p. 148; pp. 163–164, and E. Sydenham, *The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia*, London, 1933, pp. 51–52, nos. 126–27).

²⁷ *B.M.C. Emp.* II, p. 316, *; p. 329, no. 144 (Pl. 64. 9), COS XIII; p. 335, no. 175 (Pl. 65. 7), COS XV; p. 340, no. 212 (Pl. 66. 6), COS XVI; cf. a doubtful bronze piece, p. 411, no. 2: COS XVI.

²⁸ See note 21.

Alexandria the seiuges or six-horse chariot, a rare triumphal honor, dominates the representation of a triumphal arch on the coinage;²⁹ and the centaur and elephant chariots with their Victories appear in addition to the regular triumphal quadriga. This tendency toward a multiplication of the symbols of victory may have expressed itself at the imperial mint by the designing of two Victories as subsidiary deities on the hand of Jupiter Victor. We may have two Victories, the one uncertain in representation, standing at rest; the other, which we clearly see alighting, wings upraised, on Jupiter's wrist, her message one of fresh triumph for the Emperor. Frustrated of the honors he thought his due under Vespasian and Titus, Domitian characterized the *dominatio* he sought to attain by even small extravagances. This evidence of his seeking for new assurance and expression of his power in novel coin designs is what is important here. The exact identification of the second figure on our sestertius would be satisfying, but we would hardly learn more of general significance for Domitian's rule. In either case, Minerva or Victory, the type of our sestertius is intensely personal. It reveals a tendency—so conspicuous in the local coinage of Alexandria—toward a more personal imperial coinage.

To appreciate fully the character of the reverse of this sestertius it is pertinent to observe the use of the Jupiter Victor type before and after Domitian. The type of Jupiter holding a Victory (either fac-

²⁹ Dattari, *op. cit.*, p. 34, nos. 541-45 (Pl. XXVII).

ing away or toward the god) does not appear on the coinage of the Roman Republic,³⁰ or on the Imperial coinage, until the time of Vitellius. As a coin type the concept is Hellenistic, originating (upon the inspiration of Zeus Olympius) under Antigonus and Seleucus I.³¹ This Zeus type received freer treatment under Antiochus IV and the later Seleucids and survived long enough to appear on the coins of Antioch bearing on their obverse the head of Augustus. It is one of the commonest types on ancient coins throughout the Roman imperial world, appearing frequently on the local Greek coinages. On the strictly Roman coinage Jupiter seated on a throne bore in his hand a thunderbolt until the appearance of Vitellius' Jupiter Victor.³² Domitian's version of Jupiter Victor, appearing first on his COS XI sestertii, varies somewhat from the type of Vitellius. For his descriptive legend is in the dative case (IOVI VICTORI) while that of Vitellius was simply in the nominative case. Domitian's sestertii therefore are not merely descriptive but are dedicated to Jupiter Victor. On the coins of Domitian's successors Ju-

³⁰ H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, vol. II, p. 404, note, suggests that the figure on the rare denarius of Ventidius is Jupiter Victor, but the god, whoever he is, is not seated, and his attributes are scepter and olive branch.

³¹ See E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints* (Numismatic Studies no. 4, The American Numismatic Society, New York, 1941), pp. 84-85 and p. 85, note 3; *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints* (Numismatic Studies no. 1, The American Numismatic Society, New York, 1938), pp. 15, 20-21.

³² *B.M.C. Emp.* I, pp. 368 and 369, nos. 8-9 (Pl. 60. 20); p. 371, no. 22 (Pl. 60. 27).

piter Victor appears in his earlier aspect, that is, simply bearing one Victory on his hand, sometimes facing him, sometimes facing away from him.

This brief résumé of the use of the Zeus Nikephoros-Jupiter Victor types makes it clear that Dr. Ives' sestertius represents a deviation from tradition up to Domitian's seventeenth consulship (in accordance with available evidence) and from the Jupiter Victor type of succeeding emperors. The invention of this unusual type associating either the Emperor's favorite personal deity with Victory or symbolizing the Emperor's double triumph by representing two Victories is wholly consistent with what the rest of the coinage reveals about Domitian's interest in creating new and even strange victory types and with the Emperor's general concept of Victory as expressed on the bronze coinage.

ALINE ABAECHERLI BOYCE

A HOARD OF SESTERTII FROM CAPE MATAFU

IN March of 1946 the American Numismatic Society acquired a hoard of one hundred and thirty Roman imperial sestertii which had come to light on Cape Matafu in Algeria during the war. The circumstances of the find were as follows. In August, 1943, a group of American soldiers was assigned to a "work detail" ordered to obtain dirt and gravel from the beach along Cape Matafu at the far (northeast) end of the Bay of Algiers. "The bulldozer we had with us," writes the soldier who obtained the hoard, "dug into a small hillock of dirt along the beach, and when the bulldozer was about level with the beach, riding the wave of dirt there appeared a small earthen urn or vase. Upon reaching the crest the vase disintegrated into sand and small objects scattered from it. We retrieved them, and upon investigation (there was a clay-like brick matter encrusting them) found these objects to be Roman coins."¹

The discovery must have been made quite close to the old Augustan colony of Rusguniae, a port of Mauretania in the Roman period and the seat of a bishop in the fifth century A.D. It is mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemaeus and the ancient Itineraries;²

¹ Letter to Mr. Sydney P. Noe from M. H. D'Lasnow, April 12, 1946. Mr. D'Lasnow has told me that the soldiers present at the time of the discovery dug to a depth of six feet in the vicinity, but they found nothing further.

² Pliny, *N.H.* V, 20: *Colonia Augusti Rusguniae*; and *Itineraria Romana*, vol. I: *Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense* (ed. Otto Cuntz, Leipzig, 1929), p. 2, ed. Wess. 16, 1, *Rusguniae colonia*;

funerary cippi, a milestone of Valentinian and Valens, Roman baths, and an early Christian basilica with mosaics and other adornment have been discovered there.³ The town must have had a continuous existence from its founding as a colony by Roman veterans under Augustus through Byzantine times, when the basilica was restored by the local commandant; and it was probably a Punic foundation before the Roman period.⁴

cf. vol. II: *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* (ed. Jos. Schnetz, Leipzig, 1940), III, 8 (p. 40, line 43), *Rusgume*, and, also in vol II, *Guidonis Geographica*, p. 132, sect. 84, *Rusgimia*.

³ St. Gsell, *Les Monuments Antiques de l'Algérie*, vol. II, Paris, 1901, pp. 222–227; V. Waille, "Découverte archéologique au Cap Matifou," in *Revue Africaine*, vol. XLI (1897), pp. 286–288. Reporting the discovery by a light-house keeper of a large number of funerary stelae near Lapérouse, a fishing village, M. Waille wrote of *Rusguniae*: "On sait que cette ville romaine de *Rusguniae* élevée sur l'emplacement d'un comptoir phénicien (*rus* en punique, comme *ras* en arabe, signifiait cap) couvrait une assez grande étendue, puisque les ramparts turcs d'Alger, au rapport de Léon l'Africain, l'historien Arabe du seizième siècle, furent construites avec des pierres de taille qui en provenaient. La religion phénicienne, la religion romaine, la religion chrétienne s'y sont superposées et parfois un peu mêlées, et les sculptures, d'ailleurs très barbares, dont ces stèles sont décorées, doivent leur intérêt aux croyances religieuses et locales qu'elles rappellent. . . . Quelques objets provenant de ce même champ de fouille de Lapérouse ou des environs ont été recueillis et font partie des musées scolaires d'Ain-Taya et du Cap Matifou, que j'ai pu visiter grâce à l'obligeance de MM. Malaval et Gay, instituteurs." Among the objects M. Waille saw here were coins of the second century, lead weights, and pagan and Christian lamps.

For the early Christian history of the region, it is of interest to note that a manuscript copy of an inscription said to have been found on Cape Matafu (*C.I.L.* VIII, 9255) reports the dedication of a basilica by a Flavius Nuvel and his wife after a piece of the true cross had been brought there.

⁴ St. Gsell, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, vol. II, p. 159,

In the works of French scholars, who have had the responsibility for excavation and study in this territory, Rusguniae is synonymous with Matafu (Matifou). According to Gsell, the great historian of North African antiquity, Rusguniae, along with Algiers (Icosium) provided a haven for seamen: "les deux ports pouvaient tour à tour les abriter l'un étant à couvert des vents d'Est, l'autre des vent d'Ouest, plus redoutables."⁵ Of its present condition some indication may be obtained from the historian's statement that the ruins of the town have served as a quarry for the Algerians: "les ruines ont, pendent des siècles, servi de carrière aux Algérois."⁶ The place where our hoard was found, then, was a well-settled point on the Mediterranean coast with both Roman and Christian, as well as Punic and Byzantine, tradition.

Bronze hoards are comparatively scarce, and are not reported in considerable numbers until the third century A.D. In the selected list of hoards indicated by Mattingly in his *Coins of the Roman*

says the names of the coastal towns are indications, though not certain proof, of Phoenician establishments. See also Waille, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 159. Gsell is discussing the possibility of early Phoenician settlements on the sites of these coastal towns. Elsewhere, speaking of the Roman colony, he describes Rusguniae as "au Cap Matifou, à l'entrée de la baie d'Alger" (vol. VIII, p. 202).

⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 240, note 7. Leo the African (vol. III, French trans., ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1898, p. 68), a sixteenth-century historian, reports that stone for the Turkish fortifications of Algiers was obtained from Rusguniae, a statement which has led the editors of vol. VIII of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (pt. 2, p. 792) to suggest that some of the inscribed stones found at Algiers may in reality belong to ancient Rusguniae.

Empire in the British Museum, Vols. III and IV, the bronze hoards make up only about one-eighth of the total.⁷ The scarcity of bronze coinage in the third century and the debasement of silver imparted to the bronze a value which it otherwise might not have had.⁸ It is in this period, consequently, that we get our greatest number of bronze hoards. Since we lack publications of hoards of large bronze found in North Africa,⁹ it seems especially imperative to describe fully our hoard from Cape Matafu.

The Cape Matafu Hoard consists of one hundred and thirty sestertii which cover a period of about one hundred and fifty years. Sixty-four of the coins date from Nerva to Commodus, i.e., from the very last years of the first century A.D. to the

⁷ Vol. III, pp. xxviii-xxix; vol. IV, pp. xxvii-xxix.

⁸ The scarcity of bronze is attested by the great amount of very worn second-century bronze coins in the hoards that are reported. The second-century coins in the Cape Matafu Hoard are much more worn than the third-century coins. Mr. L. C. West has generously allowed me to examine his analytical tables of hoard material (including twenty-four bronze hoards from Trajan to Septimius Severus, and twenty-two from Caracalla to Trajan Decius), which in general, like our hoard in particular, reveal a scarcity of bronze in the third century, necessitating the wide use of old worn bronze coins.

⁹ M. J. Farrugia de Candia confirms my impression that few of the chance finds, or hoards found in excavations in North Africa, have been published. He also informs me that the hoards of Punic, Republican, and early imperial coins found in Tunisia contain few coins, while the hoards dating from Severus to Gallienus are more frequent and contain a larger number of coins. In *Num. Chron.*, 1945 (Pts. III-IV, p. 163), Mr. Mattingly has published a list of second- and third-century sestertii from part of a hoard found in Algeria in 1943.

end of the second century. Hardly a larger number, sixty-six sestertii, belong to the third century from the time of Septimius Severus to Trajan Decius.¹⁰ Most of the coins are covered with a uniform bright green incrustation and their condition varies from badly worn (Nerva) to good (Severus Alexander to Trajan Decius). The distribution of the coins among the emperors and members of their families is indicated in the table below.

End 1st Century A.D.—2nd Century A.D.

| <i>Emperor or Relative</i> | <i>No. of Coins</i> |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
| Nerva | 2 |
| Trajan | 3 |
| Hadrian | 9 |
| Sabina | 1 |
| Ant. Pius | 9 |
| Faustina I | 3 |
| M. Aurelius | 12 |
| Faustina II | 5 |
| L. Verus | 2 |
| Lucilla | 4 |
| Commodus | 12 |
| Crispina | 2 |
| Total | <u>64</u> |

Third Century A.D.

| | |
|---------------------|----|
| Sept. Sev. | 7 |
| Clod. Albinus Caes. | 1 |
| Caracalla | 1 |
| Julia Domna | 1 |
| Julia Soaemias | 1 |
| Sev. Alex. | 14 |
| Julia Mamaea | 2 |
| Maximinus | 8 |

¹⁰ The single piece of Philip II weighs as little as 13.56 grms.

| | | |
|---------------|-----------|-----------------|
| Maximus Caes. | 1 | |
| Pupienus | 1 | |
| Gordian III | 18 | |
| Philip I | 6 | |
| Otacil. Sev. | 2 | |
| Philip II | 1 | |
| Trajan Decius | 2 | |
| Total | <u>66</u> | Grand Total 130 |

It will be noted that only a few second-century names are missing from this list; the women of Trajan's family and Aelius Caesar alone are not there. Moreover, the distribution of the coins among the second-century emperors is not surprising, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and Commodus having the greatest number. The fact that we have almost as many sestertii of the second-century as of the third-century group, and the well-worn condition of the former, point to a scarcity of bronze and reflect a rising value of the metal at the time of the hoard's burial.

The third-century group of our hoard, on the other hand, is not so representative. Many names are missing. This may be due to one or more of the following factors: 1. scarcity of bronze issues; 2. shortness of reigns; 3. *damnatio memoriae*, and consequent melting down of large numbers of an emperor's coins. The missing names are Pertinax, Didius Julianus, Manlia Scantilla, Didia Clara, Plautilla, Geta, Macrinus, Diadumenian, Elagabalus, all the Severan women except Julia Domna, Soaemias and Mamaea; Paulina, Gordian I, Gordian II, Balbinus, Tranquillina, Etruscilla, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian. Perhaps the occur-

rence of even one piece of Albinus is surprising, since Caracalla is represented by no more than one piece. And though there is not one piece of Elagabalus, we have a single sestertius of his mother Julia Soaemias.¹¹

When was the Cape Matafu Hoard buried? The last emperor represented in the hoard is Trajan Decius, who reigned officially from the fall of 249 A.D. to the middle of 251.¹² We have two coins of Decius, and this low number in proportion to the total number of coins in the hoard may be significant. It suggests that the hoard was buried before its owner had acquired many coins of this ruler, and that Decius was still reigning when the burial took place. If the hoard had been buried at the close of Decius' reign, one might have expected to find as many coins of this emperor as our hoard contained of Philip. Two other factors suggest burial in the first year of the reign: the absence of coins of the Caesars Herennius and Hostilian, and the nature of the reverse on the two coins of Decius in the hoard. Herennius and Hostilian received the

¹¹ *Damnatio memoriae* alone would not seem to account for the absence of pieces of Elagabalus, for his silver, and occasionally a piece of bronze, do turn up in hoards. The number of coins of Elagabalus in the Plevna Hoard compares favorably with the coins of Geta and Severus Alexander (*Num. Chron.* 1924, p. 211). In this hoard there were twenty-two denarii of Geta, eighty-eight denarii and fifteen antoniniani of Elagabalus, and one hundred and thirty-three denarii of Severus Alexander, who reigned fourteen years as against Elagabalus' four.

¹² F. S. Salisbury and H. Mattingly, "The Reign of Trajan Decius," in *The Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. XIV (1924), pp. 1-23.

title of Caesar in September and December respectively of 251 A.D.¹³ If an argument may be based on the absence of their coinage, the hoard must date no later than the fall of 251. At the same time, the reverse with the type of Dacia can hardly date before the summer campaign of 250. The simple reverse legend "DACIA," moreover, as opposed to "DACIA FELIX," may be associated with Decius' restoration of the Dacias in the summer of 250.¹⁴ From these indications, namely, the small number of coins of Decius and their reverse, and the absence of the coinage of his sons, it appears likely that the Cafe Matafu Hoard was buried in 250 A.D., probably in the late summer or fall of the year.

It is not vain in the case of this hoard to speculate on the circumstances of its burial. Unless the hoard was hidden as the result of some purely local and personal accident, unaffected by the course of historical events,¹⁵ it is impossible not to imagine

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 12-15. The early dating of the title *Caesar* for the princes proposed by Wittig in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopaedie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, s.v. *Messius*, col. 1261, is based on the inscription of a milestone (*C.I.L.* XIII, 9123) the reading and dating of which are problematical. On this stone, see Salisbury and Mattingly's suggestive remarks, *op. cit.*, p. 13. See also K. Pink's remarks, "Der Aufbau der römischen Münzprägung in der Kaiserzeit," in *Num. Zeitschr.* 69 (1936), p. 19.

¹⁴ Cf. Salisbury and Mattingly on the DACIA and DACIA FELIX legends of the silver, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁵ The depredations of the interior tribes which occurred within a decade of our period can hardly be associated with the burial of our hoard. Nevertheless, one cannot speculate on the reasons for the burial of a hoard in the vicinity of Rusguniae without mentioning the fact that by the year 260, possibly by 255 A.D., the citizens

that its secretion was connected with the later period of the official and widespread persecution of the Christians by Decius which raged from January to July of 250 and perhaps for some months thereafter.¹⁶ The Christian sect had spread fast in

of Rusguniae were setting up dedicatory inscriptions to officials who had checked incursions of tribes called Fraxinenses and Bavares. P. Aelius Primianus is called *defensor prov(inciae)* in *C.I.L.* VIII, 9045, 255 A.D. On a stone dated March 26, 260 A.D., Q. Gargilius Martialis is honored for his part in suppressing an incursion of Bavares and Fraxinenses (*C.I.L.* VIII, 9047). Both men were decurions of Rusguniae and Auzia. The widespread activities of these marauding bands are revealed on stones from other North African towns, two dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and other gods, for the destruction of the menace. The one is significant here because it was set up at Caesarea (Cherchel), like Rusguniae a coastal town, indicating that the threat from the interior had gone far. The stone was set up by an officer of Diocletian and Maximian "erasis funditus Babaris Transtagnensibus" (*C.I.L.* VIII, 9324, cf. 9047 for the capture and death of the leader Faraxen, "rebellis cum satellitibus suis"). A summary of this situation may be seen in the other dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, from Lambaesis, *C.I.L.* VIII, 2615, by C. Macrinus Decianus "V. C. Leg. Aug. pr. pr. Prov. Numidiae et Norici, Bavaribus, qui adunatis IIII regibus in Prov. Numidiam inruperant, primum in regione Millevitana, iterato in confinio Mauretaniae et Numidiae, tertio Quinquegentaneis gentilibus Mauretaniae Caesariensis, item gentilibus Fraxinensibus, qui Provinciam Numidiam vastabant capto famosissimo duce eorum, caesis fugatisque."

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 8, 21. The authors point out that a pogrom was going on in Alexandria before the death of Philip, but that the language of Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* VI, 41, makes it clear that the Decian persecution, unlike previous ones, was carried out as a systematic governmental policy. Further proof of this survives in the Declarations of Conformity by apostates, recorded in papyri. For a discussion of these and for literature on the persecution, see Wittig in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Messius*, col. 1280-1281; F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, s.v. *Dèce (Persecution de)*; The Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 4, New York, 1913, p. 666. Famous martyrs of the period were Fabianus, Bishop of Rome, and Procopius, at Caesarea in Palestine. The election of a

Africa. "Dès le début du III^e siècle, la prédication évangélique avait pénétré chez les Gétules et chez les Maures (i.e., far west of Cape Mатафу). On mentionne des évêques de Numidie dans les conciles tenus à Carthage vers 220, en 255, et en 256; il en vint aussi quelques-uns de Maurétanie à cette dernière date. Un synode de quatre-vingt-dix évêques se réunit en 250 à Lambèse, pour juger un hérétique."¹⁷

From the passage just quoted it is obvious that there were living along the North African coast at this period Christians who were vulnerable to official persecution by imperial or municipal officials.¹⁸ I suggest, then, that the Cape Mатафу Hoard was buried in 250 A.D., at a time when the persecutions under Decius were still taking place in Mauretania.

In the following catalogue "Cf." indicates that, chiefly because of condition, there is not absolute certainty about the *B.M.C. Emp.*, *M.S.*, or Cohen reference. "Var." means that there is a definite and observable point of variance between the coin of the Cape Mатафу Hoard and the reference cited.

successor to the martyred Fabianus was delayed for over a year (O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, Bd. III, Stuttgart, 1921, p. 303, and Bd. III, Anhang, pp. 501-502).

¹⁷ St. Gsell, G. Marçais and G. Yver, *Histoire d'Algérie*, Paris, 1927, p. 51.

¹⁸ Within the primitive church itself, there were conflicts. A heretic, or an apostate, might be the object of vengeance on the part of the orthodox and the faithful. After the subsidence of the Decian persecution, the church was hard put to it to decide whether or not to accept apostates back into the fold.

References are to Mattingly's *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum (B.M.C.)*, Mattingly and Sydenham's *Roman Imperial Coinage (M.S.)*, and Cohen's *Médailles Impériales (C.)*.

Die
Position Weight Diam.

NERVA

- | | | | |
|------------------|--|-------------|--------|
| 1. Head r. | | 19.35 grms. | 32 mm. |
| 2. Head laur. r. | | 24.82 grms. | 34 mm. |

TRAJAN

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|-------------|--------|
| 3. Cf. B.M.C. 781; C. 469. | ↓ | 23.77 grms. | 34 mm. |
| 4. Cf. B.M.C. 1015; C. 351 | ↓ | 21.37 grms. | 32 mm. |
| 5. Head bare l. | | 22.47 grms. | 33 mm. |

HADRIAN

- | | | | |
|--|---|-------------|--------|
| 6. B.M.C. 1295; C. 342. | ↓ | 24.52 grms. | 34 mm. |
| 7. B.M.C. 1545; C. 1364. | ↓ | 26.02 grms. | 32 mm. |
| 8. Similar to No. 7. | ↓ | 20.42 grms. | 29 mm. |
| 9. B.M.C. 1560; C. 1415. | ↓ | 22.97 grms. | 33 mm. |
| 10. Not in B.M.C. with this obv. Cf. 1667; C. 67. Head or bust l. | ↑ | 23.27 grms. | 32 mm. |
| 11. Head (small; therefore first two yrs. of reign) laur. r. Seated goddess? | ↓ | 22.70 grms. | 33 mm. |
| 12. Bust laur. r. | | 21.82 grms. | 34 mm. |
| 13. Head or bust laur. r. | | 19.75 grms. | 34 mm. |
| 14. Head r. | | 20.85 grms. | 34 mm. |

SABINA

- | | | | |
|---|---|-------------|--------|
| 15. Var. B.M.C. 1863; C. 8-9. Double stephane. Concordia standing l; single cornucopiae. | ↓ | 22.87 grms. | 31 mm. |
|---|---|-------------|--------|

ANTONINUS PIUS

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|---|-------------|--------|
| 16. B.M.C. 1266; C. 682 | ↖ | 18.75 grms. | 32 mm. |
| 17. Cf. B.M.C. 1317; C. 881. | ↑ | 21.55 grms. | 31 mm. |

46 A. N. S. MUSEUM NOTES

18. Cf. B.M.C. 1666; C. 318. ↑ 26.60 grms. 31 mm.
19. B.M.C. 1901; C. 728. ↓ 30.90 grms. 34 mm.
20. Cf. B.M.C. 1962; C. 540.
TR P XVII or XVIII. ↑ 23.77 grms. 31 mm.
21. Head laur. r. Annona.
Overstruck on same type
(but not same die), struck
in ↓ position; of the orig-
inal striking modius,
prow, garment of god-
dess, and exergual line are
visible. ↑ 19.07 grms. 29 mm.
22. Head laur. r. [ANTONI-
NVSA]VGPI VS PPTRP
XVIII or XXIII. God-
dess standing front, head
l., with cornucopiae in l.
Aequitas? ↑ 19.85 grms. 31 mm.
23. Head laur. r. Goddess
standing l. before altar. ↓ 21.12 grms. 33 mm.
24. Head laur. r. Female fig-
ure? Countermark? 20.05 grms. 31 mm.

FAUSTINA I

25. Cf. B.M.C. 1435; C. 202. ↑ 23.15 grms. 33 mm.
26. Cf. B.M.C. 1482; C. 15. ↓ 21.0 grms. 29 mm.
27. Head r. Goddess stand-
ing l. ↓ 22.55 grms. 29 mm.

M. AURELIUS

28. B.M.C. 1038; C. 564. ↑ 23.55 grms. 33 mm.
29. Cf. B.M.C. IV, 1074;
C. 835. ↑ 23.55 grms. 31.5 mm.
30. B.M.C. 1088 or 1229;
C. 838 or 796. TR P
XVIII or XIX. ↑ 20.32 grms. 30 mm.
31. Cf. B.M.C. 1088; C. 838. ↑ 23.97 grms. 31 mm.
32. B.M.C. 1248. ↑ 17.27 grms. 30 mm.
33. Cf. B.M.C. 1248. ↑ 22.82 grms. 32 mm.

34. Head laur. r. Goddess seated l., cornucopiae in l. Probably Fortuna Redux; cf. B.M.C. 1335. C. 211. ↑ 23.62 grms. 30 mm.
 35. B.M.C. 1398; C. 497. ↑ 29.52 grms. 31 mm.
 36. B.M.C. 1412 or 1449. C. 27 or 538. ↑ 23.22 grms. 32.5 mm.
 37. B.M.C. 1351 or 1376-77; C. 544 or 547. TR P XXIII or XXIII. ↑ 22.97 grms. 30 mm.
 38. Cf. B.M.C. 1435; C. 229 var. ↓ 18.62 grms. 29 mm.
 39. Head laur. r. Goddess (Felicitas?) standing three-quarters l., head l. 21.37 grms. 30 mm.

FAUSTINA II

40. Cf. B.M.C. 905 ff.; C. 100. ↓ 20.12 grms. 28.5 mm.
 41. B.M.C. 911 ff.; C. 112. ↓ 23.6 grms. 31 mm.
 42. Similar. ↑ 30.72 grms. 31 mm.
 43. B.M.C. 914 or 919; C. 121 or 142. ↑ 21.62 grms. 31 mm.
 44. B.M.C. 1584 ff.; C. 215. ↓ 25.65 grms. 30.5 mm.

L. VERUS

45. B.M.C. 1118; C. 249. ↓ 24.95 grms. 34 mm.
 46. Cf. B.M.C. p. 608*; C. 214. ↓ 18.0 grms. 29.5 mm.

LUCILLA

47. B.M.C. 1142; Var. C. 10. ↑ 20.3 grms. 30 mm.
 48. B.M.C. 1143 ff.; C. 17. ↓ 17.95 grms. 28 mm.
 49. B.M.C. 1167-71; C. 72. ↑ 27.50 grms. 32 mm.
 50. B.M.C. 1197 ff.; C. 21? ↑ 24.2 grms. 29 mm.

COMMODUS UNDER M. AURELIUS

51. B.M.C. 1699; C. 228. ↓ 23.20 grms. 30 mm.
 52. Similar. ↓ 25.0 grms. 30 mm.

COMMODUS

| | | | |
|---|---|-------------|----------|
| 53. Cf. B.M.C. 476; C. 822. | ↓ | 22.5 grms. | 30 mm. |
| 54. Cf. B.M.C. 532; C. 455. | ↑ | 29.15 grms. | 34 mm. |
| 55. Cf. B.M.C. 586; C. 247. | ↑ | 24.40 grms. | 30 mm. |
| 56. Cf. B.M.C. 590; C. 31. | ↑ | 25.22 grms. | 31 mm. |
| 57. B.M.C. 671; C. 360. | ↓ | 17.52 grms. | 27.5 mm. |
| 58. B.M.C. 714; C. 203. | ↘ | 19.92 grms. | 29 mm. |
| 59. Head laur. r. Goddess standing? | ↑ | 18.12 grms. | 28.5 mm. |
| 60. Head r. Goddess standing. | ↑ | 18.72 grms. | 29 mm. |
| 61. Head r. Goddess standing. | ↓ | 22.22 grms. | 29 mm. |
| 62. Head laur. r. Male figure standing. | ↑ | 22.12 grms. | 30 mm. |

CRISPINA

| | | | |
|------------------------|---|-------------|--------|
| 63. B.M.C. 419; C. 30. | ↓ | 23.7 grms. | 31 mm. |
| 64. B.M.C. 420; C. 33. | ↖ | 21.09 grms. | 32 mm. |
| 65. M.S. 672. | ↑ | 27.7 grms. | 31 mm. |

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

| | | | |
|---|---|-------------|--------|
| 66. M.S. pp. 185-6? Head laur. r. L SEPT SEV PE PT [AVG IMPV?] Roma seated l. on shield, Victory to r. on extended r. Head of Medusa on shield. | ↑ | 20.85 grms. | 30 mm. |
| 67. M.S. 700 (b. drapery); C. 127. | ↑ | 23.00 grms. | 31 mm. |
| 68. Similar to 66 and 67. Head or bust r. Spear in l.; Medusa head on shield. | ↑ | 21.4 grms. | 29 mm. |
| 69. Cf. Nos. 66-8. | ↖ | 24.6 grms. | 30 mm. |
| 70. Cf. M.S. 725; C. 420. | ↑ | 17.8 grms. | 30 mm. |
| 71. Head r. Figure seated l. on backless throne. | ↑ | 19.3 grms. | 27 mm. |

CLODIUS ALBINUS

72. M.S. 54a; C. 49 ↑ 24.35 grms. 33 mm.

CARACALLA

73. M.S. 450a; cf. C. 474. ↓ 21.90 grms. 32.5 mm.

JULIA DOMNA

74. M.S. 840; C. 99. ↑ 25.05 grms. 30 mm.

JULIA SOAEMIAS

75. M.S. 400; C. 4. ↗ 22.25 grms. 31.5 mm.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER

76. M.S. 419 (d); C. 475. ↓ 21.82 grms. 30 mm.

77. M.S. 424 (c); C. 262? ↑ 19.62 grms. 31 mm.

78. M.S. 440 (d); C. 282. ↗ 19.97 grms. 30 mm.

79. Cf. M.S. 446; C. 291. ↑ 20.92 grms. 30 mm.

80. M.S. 465 (d); C. 320. ↑ 20.37 grms. 31 mm.

81. Cf. M.S. 538 (d) or 541
(d); C. 449 or 457. TR P
XIII or XIII. ↑ 20.17 grms. 29 mm.

82. Var. M.S. 626; C. 591
(drapery on both shoulders). ↑ 21.25 grms. 32 mm.

83. M.S. 627; Var. C. 592. ↑ 19.5 grms. 31 mm.

84. Similar. ↑ 16.9 grms. 30 mm.

85. Similar. ↑ 15.0 grms. 29 mm.

86. M.S. 645 (c?); C. 509. ↑ 20.07 grms. 30 mm.

87. M.S. 648 (c); C. 548. ↑ 20.2 grms. 32 mm.

88. Similar. ↑ 19.65 grms. 30 mm.

89. Similar. ↑ 23.17 grms. 31 mm.

JULIA MAMAEA

90. M.S. 679; C. 26. ↑ 20.37 grms. 30 mm.

91. M.S. 694; C. 62. ↑ 17.35 grms. 31 mm.

MAXIMINUS

92. M.S. 43; Var. C. 10. ↑ 24.4 grms. 31 mm.

93. M.S. 61; C. 80. ↑ 19.15 grms. 30 mm.

94. Similar. ↑ 17.55 grms. 30 mm.

95. M.S. 64; Var. C. 88. ↑ 18.9 grms. 30 mm.

96. M.S. 67; C. 100. ↗ 15.42 grms. 30 mm.
 97. M.S. 78; cf. C. 13. ↓ 16.47 grms. 30.5 mm.
 98. M.S. 81; C. 38. ↑ 19.72 grms. 32 mm.
 99. Similar. ↑ 22.72 grms. 32 mm.

MAXIMUS CAESAR

100. M.S. 13; C. 14. ↗ 20.17 grms. 31 mm.

PUPIENUS

101. M.S. 22 (leg. 2); C. 23. ↑ 17.17 grms. 30 mm.

GORDIAN III*

102. C. 43. ↑ 21.07 grms. 31 mm.
 103. Similar. ↑ 16.57 grms. 30 mm.
 104. Similar, but Sol stands
 three-quarters l., head l. ↑ 17.27 grms. 30 mm.
 105. C. 76. ↑ 23.57 grms. 31 mm.
 106. C. 122. ↑ 18.35 grms. 31.5 mm.
 107. Similar to 106. ↑ 14.17 grms. 29 mm.
 108. Similar to 106 and 107. ↑ 16.45 grms. 31 mm.
 109. C. 169. "A" in PAX
 double struck. ↖ 18.99 grms. 30.5 mm.
 110. Cf. C. 207. Roma seated
 l. on shield, holding Vic-
 tory (facing her) on r.,
 and spear in l. C. says
 shield is "à côté d'elle." ↗ 17.27 grms. 32 mm.
 111. C. 231. ↑ 17.75 grms. 29 mm.
 112. C. 240. ↗ 16.9 grms. 29.5 mm.
 113. C. 273. ↗ 19.3 grms. 29 mm.
 114. C. 320. ↑ 16.6 grms. 31.5 mm.
 115. C. 329. ↑ 21.62 grms. 31 mm.
 116. C. 329. ↑ 18.27 grms. 31 mm.
 117. C. 333. ↑ 17.72 grms. 30 mm.
 118. C. 354. ↑ 18.67 grms. 29 mm.
 119. C. 384. ↑ 20.55 grms. 31.5 mm.

* All pieces of Gordian III and Philip I listed here have bust laur. palud. cuir. r. It is not certain that these are variant obverses of the pieces given by Cohen, but all of these are described by Cohen simply as "bust laur. r."

PHILIP I

| | | | |
|--------------|---|-------------|--------|
| 120. C. 6. | ↑ | 19.67 grms. | 31 mm. |
| 121. C. 10. | ↑ | 18.37 grms. | 30 mm. |
| 122. C. 26 | ↑ | 22.75 grms. | 30 mm. |
| 123. C. 88. | ↑ | 20.67 grms. | 31 mm. |
| 124. C. 121. | ↑ | 20.37 grms. | 30 mm. |
| 125. C. 211. | ↑ | 22.36 grms. | 33 mm. |

OTACILIA SEVERA

| | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------|----------|
| 126. C. 10. | ↑ | 22.82 grms. | 30 mm. |
| 127. C. 55. | ↑ | 17.3 grms. | 31.5 mm. |

PHILIP II

| | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------|--------|
| 128. C. 25. | ↑ | 13.64 grms. | 28 mm. |
|-------------|---|-------------|--------|

TRAJAN DECIUS

| | | | |
|---|---|-------------|--------|
| 129. C. 18 Var. Bust laur. cuir., r. | ↗ | 17.4 grms. | 30 mm. |
| 130. C. 22. | ↑ | 19.32 grms. | 30 mm. |

ALINE ABACHERLI BOYCE

COUNTERSTAMPS ON ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL NOBLES

(SEE PLATES VIII-X)

IN the monograph *Foreign Imitations of the English Noble*¹ (hereinafter referred to as *Foreign Imitations*), an account was given of the wide vogue of the noble in the Low Countries and on the shores of the Baltic, evidenced not only by the numerous imitations, but by some of the counterstamps. It is the purpose here to discuss these counterstamps more fully, listing some not previously described, and speculating on the circumstances which led to these markings.

In general, counterstamping of foreign coins is done by a local government to make the pieces current in the immediate locality. The most compelling motive is scarcity of local money, such as may occur during a siege. The counterstamp may merely authorize the use of the money at its normal exchange value, or it may denote an artificial valuation resorted to as part of currency manipulation in time of stress. In many cases the exact occasions for the latter practice either are matters of historical record, or are ones which can be surmised from the history of the place and the date of striking of the coins.

The counterstamps on nobles which have been found thus far recorded are eight in number. They will be listed and discussed in the order of their dat-

¹ Herbert E. Ives, *Foreign Imitations of the English Noble* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 93), New York, 1941.

ing, as nearly as can be decided. So arranged they are Haarlem, Holland, Danzig, Waes, Ypres, Groningen, Bommel, Riga.

Haarlem  1572

This countermark is found on a Henry VI noble (Brooke, Group I) which was published with illustration in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, December, 1906, cols. 9513-4. It is here illustrated on PLATE VIII, 1. The piece dates from the siege of 1572, the date being stamped under the arms. Also stamped on the coin are three stars, and the lion of Holland (see below). These same marks are all found on many of the uniface siege pieces of Haarlem² (see PLATE VIII, 2).

Holland  1573

The Holland counterstamp was ordered at the time of the siege of Haarlem, when the States of Holland directed Holland and Zeeland to so indicate the increase of value of all currency by one eighth as a means of raising money to relieve the siege.³ It is found on many foreign coins, including

² For a description of these and other siege pieces, see Prosper Mailliet, *Catalogue descriptif des monnaies obsidionales et de nécessité avec atlas*, Brussels, 1870, 2 v., and Gerard Van Loon, *Histoire métallique des XVII provinces des pays-bas*, The Hague, 1732, vol. I. For a listing of the siege pieces of Haarlem, see Jhr. C. H. C. A. Sypesteijn, "Penningkundige Geschiedenis der Stad Haarlem," *Jaarboek van het K. Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde* III (1916), pp. 4 ff.

³ Mailliet, *op. cit.*, p. 197, note 1, and Pls. LI-LII.

ENGLISH & CONTINENTAL NOBLES 55

English angels and Spanish ducats. A Schulman Sale Catalogue⁴ records it on a noble of Edward IV, which is presumably of the regular English series. No illustration is given.

Danzig  1577

Three Edward IV English nobles bear this counterstamp. One with the initial mark crown is illustrated in *Foreign Imitations*, Pl. III, No. 18. A second and third, in the British Museum, have initial marks of sun and of rose. The latter is illustrated on PLATE VIII, 3. All three are probably of the London mint, although the position of the counterstamp, below the rose on the ship's side, could have obliterated a Bristol or other mint letter. These counterstamps date from the siege of Danzig by Stephen Bathory in 1577, on which occasion many foreign coins were so marked.⁵

Waes  1582

This counterstamp (turnip with leafed root) has been found on a noble (PLATE IX, 4) and two half nobles of Ghent, struck under the Duc d'Anjou. It is surmised by de Jonghe⁶ to have been impressed on the coinage by the officials of Waes (a

⁴ Schulman Sale, March 17, 1913, No. 367.

⁵ See Emil Bahrfeldt, *Die Münzen und Medaillen-Sammlung in der Marienburg*, vol. 5, pp. 54-60, and Pls. XLVIII and XLIX.

⁶ Baudouin de Jonghe, "Monnaies et deniers de Flandre," *Rev. Belge de la Num.*, vol. 50 (1894), p. 367, Pl. IX, 13.

jurisdiction in the orbit of Ghent) when, in Nov. 1582, the Duc d'Anjou quartered a large garrison here at the expense of the inhabitants.

Ypres  1583

The Ypres counterstamp is found on a Henry VI Calais noble (Brooke, Group I) illustrated on PLATE IX, 5. It is also recorded⁷ as on a Ghent half-noble of 1582 as well as on a number of foreign gold and silver coins. The occasion for counter-marking was the siege of the city⁸ in 1583.

Groningen  1591

This counterstamp, impressed during the siege of 1591, is recorded on four nobles. Two of these, one in the British Museum⁹ (PLATE IX, 6), and one illustrated in a Schulman Sale Catalogue,¹⁰ are on the large flan Dutch imitations of Edward IV rose nobles minted at Gorcum about 1584. The third, recorded in a Schulman Sale Catalogue,¹¹ is not fully described or illustrated and may be the

⁷ L. Théry, "Les monnaies contrémarquées à Ypres en 1582-3," *Rev. Belge de la Num.*, vol. 78 (1926), p. 95, gives an account of a hoard of twenty gold pieces of which six had this countermark.

⁸ Baudouin de Jonghe, "Monnaies contrémarquées à Ypres par le Seigneur de Marquettes, Superintendant du Quartier d'Ypres (1582-83)," *Rev. Belge de la Num.*, vol. 52 (1896), p. 162.

⁹ Casts of the British Museum counterstamped nobles described in this article were kindly furnished by Mr. John Allan, Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals of that institution.

¹⁰ Schulman Sale, Jan. 19, 1931, No. 1924, Pl. XXXII.

¹¹ Schulman Sale (Coll. C. J. Koch), May 10, 1932, No. 458.

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same piece as the second. The fourth, poorly illustrated in a Schulman Sale Catalogue,¹² is a Zeeland noble of 1583.



The piece on which the counterstamp here ascribed to Bommel appears is illustrated on PLATE X, 7. Unfortunately, the counterstamping is unskilfully done, with a small punch, so heavily and against so yielding a backing as to nearly cut through the coin. The two roses of the arms are fairly well defined, while the small lion at the upper left is indistinguishable as such. The noble is of the large flan Dutch series of Edward IV imitation rose nobles, and therefore dates about 1585. The siege of Bommel in 1599 by Francesco de Mendoza, in which siege pieces bearing the city's arms were issued,¹³ appears to be a plausible time for this marking to have been made, although no other counterstamped pieces have been recorded.



Five nobles with this counterstamp have been found recorded, although it is possible that the earliest record¹⁴ refers to one of the coins later described. Of illustrated coins, one is an Edward IV London rose noble, initial mark, sun on obv.,

¹² Schulman Sale, March 17, 1913, No. 257.

¹³ See note 17.

¹⁴ See Mailliet, *op. cit.*, Atlas, Suppl. Pl. 18, 1.

crown on rev., illustrated in *Foreign Imitations*, Pl. II, No. 17. A second is a Bristol rose noble of Edward IV, initial mark crown, in the British Museum, shown on PLATE X, 8. The fourth noble with the countermark of Riga is an Utrecht rose noble of the issue of 1580–81 (*Foreign Imitations*, No. 27), mentioned by Schulman¹⁵ as having been seen by him in an “estate,” but which he was not able to illustrate. The fifth countermarked noble is of particular interest, for it is the large flan Arkel rose noble with inscription very slightly altered from its prototype.¹⁶ It is illustrated on PLATE X, 9. These counterstamped nobles are described in the Preiss catalogue¹⁷ as having been current in Riga during its twenty years’ freedom, 1561–82. This cannot be the case for the last noble described, as the Gorcum mint where it was issued was not in operation before 1585. Some other reason or occasion for the counterstamping must be sought. It is possible that the practice of counterstamping was one of long standing at Riga, unconnected with any period of stress. If some likely occasion after 1585 is to be considered, a possible date would be the siege by Gustavus Adolphus in 1621, although no reference has been found to siege pieces or counterstamping at that time.

Additional counterstamped nobles are mentioned

¹⁵ André Schulman, *Jaarboek van het K. Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, XVII (1930), p. 83.

¹⁶ See Herbert E. Ives, *Foreign Imitations*, p. 19.

¹⁷ Egger Sale (Preiss Coll.), Nov. 16, 1874, No. 4584 (no illustration).

in numismatic literature which are insufficiently described to be certain of their attribution. One is described as having a Deventer countermark.¹⁸ Another is mentioned as countermarked with the eagle of Imperial Germany.¹⁹ It is believed probable that these are both the double-headed eagle of Groningen.

Zeeland  and Campen 

Among the counterstamps which belong to the period and locality of counterstamps found, and which appear on other coins, although not thus far on nobles, may be mentioned those of Zeeland and Campen. The Zeeland counterstamp was ordered along with that of Holland²⁰ in 1573, and is to be found on English angels of Henry VII and VIII, as well as on many foreign gold coins. Another siege not represented on the nobles is that of Campen in 1578. This counterstamp occurs on a Henry VII angel.²¹ It would not be surprising to see these counterstamps turn up on nobles.

Reviewing the above we note that the counterstamps are all of the last two decades of the sixteenth century, with the possible exception of Riga, which may be a few years later. They are all, with the same possible exception, associated with sieges, which were of almost yearly occurrence in the Low

¹⁸ Sotheby Sale (Forster Coll.), Nov. 3, 1903, No. 43.

¹⁹ W. C. Hazlitt, *Coinage of the European Continent*.

²⁰ See note 3.

²¹ Glendining Sale (Drabble Coll.), July 4, 1939, No. 123.

Countries at this time. Counterstamps are found on nearly all types of nobles and their imitations, starting with the Henry nobles of Henry VI, through the rose nobles of Edward IV, the large flan Dutch imitations of these latter, and the later nobles of the Dutch provinces. Missing from the list are the English nobles of Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV and V, and the Burgundian nobles of Philip, John and Philip le Bon. This omission may be reasonably ascribed to the disappearance of these early nobles from circulation before the counterstamping process became common in the revolting Dutch states. This explanation will not hold for the absence of counterstamped specimens of the rose nobles of Philip II (1579), the rose nobles or ryals of Mary and Elizabeth, or the nobles of the United Provinces (*Foreign Imitations*, No. 36), but these are all quite rare coins, and their absence from the list is not surprising.

The number of counterstamped nobles here studied is too small to attempt drawing any conclusions as to the relative popularity or extent of travel of one type over another. However, it appears clear that original English nobles and their imitations of all types were widely used without discrimination. A striking phenomenon made clear by the counterstamps is the long period during which the nobles were circulated or hoarded. Thus the Henry VI noble with the Ypres counterstamp was marked at least 122 years (1461–1583) after its issue, and, as is evident from the coin, it circulated a considerable period after being counterstamped. The Edward

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IV English rose nobles with the Riga counterstamp were at least 150 years old when marked, if the counterstamp is to be ascribed to the siege of 1621.

HERBERT E. IVES

ILLUSTRATIONS ON PLATES VIII-X

1. Henry VI Noble counterstamped with arms of Haarlem and the date 1572. Author's Collection.
2. Silver siege piece of Haarlem. Author's Collection.
3. Edward IV Noble with counterstamp of Danzig. British Museum.
4. Noble of Ghent with Waes counterstamp. From *Revue Belge de la Numismatique*, Vol. 50 (1894), Pl. IX, 13.
5. Henry VI Noble with Ypres counterstamp. Author's Collection.
6. Dutch imitation of Edward IV Rose Noble, minted at Gorcum with counterstamp of Groningen. British Museum.
7. Dutch imitation of Edward IV Rose Noble with counterstamp of Bommel. Author's Collection.
8. Bristol Rose Noble of Edward IV with Riga counterstamp. British Museum.
9. Arkel imitation of Edward IV Rose Noble with Riga counterstamp. From Schulman Cat., Jan. 1931, Pl. XXXII, No. 1924.

THE W. B. OSGOOD FIELD GIFT

(SEE PLATES XI-XII)

OUTSTANDING among the acquisitions of 1946 is the first half of the collection of Mr. William B. Osgood Field. There is hardly a department of the Cabinet which does not share in this benefaction, and one notes that in numbers alone there are 148 items. It will be manifest that only a small selection can be mentioned in a statement which makes a necessary virtue of brevity.

Members will not need to be reminded of the exhibition of Coinages of the Americas held in 1943 or of the attention which it attracted. We still feel its effects. No small share in this success was due to the cooperation of our members; and among them, the loan made by Mr. Field was outstanding. The largest group of New England shillings (eight, along with a sixpence) came through his generous participation. Along with these pieces, we have now acquired in this gift seventeen of the Oak Tree and thirty-one of the Pine Tree issues. One of these Oak Tree shillings will play a prominent part in a monograph on the Oak Tree coins which should be printed before the end of this year. The New England sixpence has marks which seem to indicate that it was once used as a "witch-piece"—that is, carried as a protection against witches. Almost all the denominations of the Oak and Pine Tree forms are represented in this addition. Previous possessions of our Collection are fifty in number.

Now these early coins of Massachusetts are no

longer inadequately represented in our Collection. Ancient coins form a sizeable proportion of this gift and include a dekadrachm of Euainetos and a gold di-stater of Alexander the Great as well as thirty-three other desirable pieces.

Even more spectacular are the gold sovereigns and nobles in the English series, a selection of which will be found on PLATE XII. There are five of the nobles with which Dr. Ives' monograph has made us familiar, and two sovereigns, two ryals, two unites and one five-pound piece.

As with the Massachusetts silver, the effectiveness of our Cabinet is impressively increased. This part of Mr. Field's gift was exhibited at the November meeting of the Society, and a small selection at the Annual Meeting. Those who saw it at that time will realize how abbreviated this statement is.

The specimens illustrated are:

PLATE XI

1. New England Shilling. 1652.
2. New England Sixpence. 1652.
3. Pine Tree Shilling. Crosby 4-F.
4. Pine Tree Shilling. Crosby 15-O.

PLATE XII

1. Mary I. 1553-54. Sovereign 1553.
2. Elizabeth. 1558-1603. Sovereign c. 1584-87.
3. Henry VI. 1422-61. Noble. London.
4. Edward IV. 1461-83. Rose Noble. London c. 1464-70.

SYDNEY P. NOE

THE COINAGE
OF THE FREE CITY OF NUREMBERG
FROM 1782 TO 1807

(SEE PLATES XIII–XV)

THE latest and most complete monograph on the coins of the Free City of Nuremberg, by Im Hof, was published in 1782, while the coinage itself continued until 1807. The ducats and talers of these last 25 years have been published here and there, but never systematically. Most of the minor coins have not been described at all. In fact, Kull, who at least lists the years of coinage for each denomination, ignores the existence of the pfennig of 1785. Nor does he indicate how many different designs of each denomination exist for each year, although there are as many as five for the pfennig of 1806.

For these reasons it has seemed advisable to publish a descriptive list of the Nuremberg coinage from 1782 (the first year which Im Hof does not completely cover) until 1807. It is based on existing literature which is extremely meagre for the minor coins, and, in addition, on the collection of the American Numismatic Society, the collection of the author, and such other coins as the author has actually seen. The list can be regarded only as tentative and any additional information will be highly welcome.

The period in question saw the rapid disintegration of whatever was left of the City's former power and wealth. When finally, on September 1,

1806, it was by order of Napoleon I incorporated into the new Kingdom of Bavaria, its territory outside the walls had been lost for almost ten years and its treasury was totally insolvent.

The coinage faithfully reflects this decline. Legally the standard of the City's coinage was that of the Austro-Bavarian Convention of 1753 to which it had acceded with the rest of the Franconian Circle in 1754. This Convention provided for a taler of 120 kreuzer at four pfennigs each, and also for a gold coin, the ducat. Both this ducat and the taler were of a prescribed weight and fineness, and the same was true for coins representing fractions of talers down to the 3-kreuzer piece or $\frac{1}{40}$ of a taler. Smaller coinage was free, but only on the understanding that such coins were to circulate exclusively in the territory of the Estate that had struck them, and would not have to be recognized in the territory of the other members of the Convention.

The logical consequence of such a regulation was an almost instantaneous debasement of the minor coinage and a resultant rise of the taler to the value of 144 kreuzer in minor coins. The taler remained at this value until the end of the century, when it rose further to 147 kreuzer.

Naturally, it was also more profitable to coin the unregulated minor pieces. The miserable condition of the Nuremberg treasury caused the City, which had once belonged to those Estates of the Empire that most rigorously insisted on sound coinage, to cease almost completely the coining of

the larger denominations. It is true that there is a taler of 1795 and a ducat for each of the two emperors who succeeded Joseph II, as well as the series of gold coins that was struck in 1806. Apparently, however, none of these pieces were seriously intended for circulation, for they are quite scarce and hardly ever found with any signs of wear.

On the other hand, the coinage of the kreuzers and pfennigs is very extensive, the latter existing for every year from 1782 to 1799. In order to emphasize the territorial nature of these coins they frequently bear the legend *Stadt-* (city) or *Land-* (territorial) *Münz* (coin). The physical aspect of the coins seems to indicate a progressive debasement, as they grow constantly smaller and lighter as well as darker in color.

At the beginning of the period George Nicholas Riedner was the mintmaster. After his death he was succeeded in 1794 by his son Adam Nicholas. George Knoll was the warden of the mint from before 1782 until 1799.

From 1800 until 1805 the mint remained closed, but in 1806 a new mintmaster, Johann Egydius Rösch, as well as a new warden, Michael Bertram Klingenstein, was appointed, and Rösch immediately proceeded to issue a whole series of coins. In addition to the gold coins mentioned above, he struck 6-kreuzer pieces, 3-kreuzer pieces (or groschen), kreuzers and pfennigs.

The 6- and 3-kreuzer denominations were new for Nuremberg. Actually, however, they merely

regularized a condition which had been existing since about 1760 and which was connected with the increased value of the Convention Taler in terms of minor coins. The 5- and 2-kreuzer pieces had been referred to for quite some time as 6- and 3-kreuzers and therefore these new 6- and 3-kreuzer pieces of 1806 are actually nothing but the successors to the old 5- and 2-kreuzer pieces which had been coined last in 1766 and 1779 respectively.

Rösch's gold coins were struck in strict conformance with the Convention of 1753, but the minor coins were not. Gebert quotes exact data on their intended weight and fineness. The 6-kreuzer pieces are 375/1000 fine and there are 101 $\frac{1}{4}$ to the mark silver which gives them a weight of 2.3 grams; the groschen are 312.5/1000 fine with 184 to the mark silver, or a weight of 1.2–1.3 grams. The kreuzers, finally, are 156.25/1000 fine with 300 to the mark silver or a weight of 0.75–0.8 grams. There are no records for the pfennigs.

On September 15, 1806, the city was formally taken into possession for the King of Bavaria, but Rösch nevertheless continued his coinage until February 11, 1807, on which day the mint of the Free City of Nuremberg was permanently closed.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

Inasmuch as the following catalogue is primarily a continuation of Im Hof, it follows his system in

describing each denomination separately, starting with the largest. It also numbers each denomination in a separate series, but in order to avoid the necessity of quoting the page along with the number, which is necessary when quoting Im Hof, a different capital letter is prefixed to the number for each series, starting with "A" for the multiple ducats.

The die varieties are not described at this time since it is believed that such a description based on the material now available would be so incomplete as to be entirely without value. Eventually, when this description will be undertaken, it is contemplated to designate the die varieties by lower-case letters following the numbers designating the type.

In the Pfennig series some designs return unchanged in several years. For the sake of easier reference they will be described at the beginning of the series and assigned Roman numerals which will be used in the chronological catalogue to designate the type.

Finally, in order to avoid repetition, it will be necessary at this point to describe the coat of arms of the Free City, since it, or parts of it, form the most frequent design of the coins. The complete coat of arms consists of three shields, usually termed the first, second, and third coat of arms. When all three appear together, the first is on top. It consists of the Imperial Eagle. The second, which in the complete coat of arms appears on the lower left, shows an eagle facing with a woman's head. The

head originally was meant to be the Emperor's, and in this country the design is sometimes referred to as a "Harpy." The third, appearing on the lower right, is divided vertically in the center, showing to the left half a double eagle, and to the right six diagonal stripes alternately red and white running from upper left to lower right.

Complete titles of books and auction catalogues used as references will be found in the bibliography at the end of this article.

A. MULTIPLE DUCATS

A 1. 1806. Triple Ducat.

This is mentioned without description by Kull (p. 371) and Adam (p. 57) but probably is the same coin as the double ducat described as A 2, only a little thicker and weighing 10.35 g.

A 2. 1806. Double Ducat. (Fürstenberg Sale, No. 2200; Adam, p. 57).

Obv. City view from the west. Radiant triangle above. In the exergue, NURNBERG/E. 1806. R. Wreath of laurel completely around the design.

Rev. Lamb with banner walking on globe towards the left. Inscription on banner PAX. Around, beginning on the lower left, TEMPORA NOSTRA PATER DONATA PACE CORONA. Between the legs of the lamb the letters ST. Wreath of laurel around the entire design. Diam. 26 mm.; weight 6.9 g.

PLATE XIII, 1.

Note: The letters E.R. refer to the mintmaster (Johann) Egydius Rösch, the letters ST. to the engraver Stettner. The inscription most likely refers to the Peace of Pressburg between Napoleon I and Emperor Francis I of Austria (ratified on Jan. 1, 1806) which had temporarily pacified South Germany. Gebert (p. 121) calls the triple and the double ducat "medals."

B. DUCATS

- B 1. 1790. Ducat (Hess Catalogue, No. 528).
Obv. Bust of Emperor Leopold II to the right.
 Around: LEOPOLD II. D.G. ROM. IMP. SEMP.
 AUG., below WERNER.F.
Rev. City view from the west, radiant triangle
 above, in exergue NÜRNBERG/1790. Diam. 22
 mm.; weight 3.45 g. PLATE XIII, 2.
Note: The name WERNER refers to the engraver,
 Johann Peter Werner, who cut the dies.
- B 2. No date (1792). Ducat (Adam, No. 56).
Obv. Bust of Emperor Francis II, in uniform to
 the right. Around: FRANCISCVS. II. DG. ROM:
 IMP: SEMP: AVG:
Rev. City view from the southeast, radiant triangle
 above, in exergue: NURNBERG. Diam. 22.5 mm.;
 weight 3.45 g. PLATE XIII, 3.
Note: This coin is also known as a silver medal
 (Kull, p. 574).
- B 3. 1806. Ducat (Adam, No. 57).
 Same design as the double ducat A 2 without the
 laurel wreath around. Diam. 21.5 mm.; weight 3.45 g.
 PLATE XIII, 4.

C. TALERS

- C 1. 1794. Essay for a taler. (Rosenberg Sale, No. 1832,
 Hess Sale, No. 626.)
Obv. Bust of Emperor Francis II in uniform to the
 right. Around: FRANZ DER ZWEITE DEU-
 TSCHER KAISER, in truncation I.P.W.
Rev. City view from the east, above X.EINE
 FEINE MARCK. 1794 (changed from 1779), in
 exergue: NURNBERG/K.R. PLATE XIII, 5.
Note: This piece was unknown to Adam, Gebert,
 and Kull, and apparently turned up for the first time
 in the Rosenberg sale, which is labeled "From a mu-
 seum in central Germany," and then again in the Hess

sale. Both catalogues illustrate what appears to be the same specimen. The obverse die is the same that was used for the taler of 1795 (C 2), while the reverse die has been changed from the one used for the 1779 taler (Im Hof I. 253.189). Only a study of the records of the Nuremberg mint, if still extant, could reveal whether the piece is a genuine essay or a later fabrication. In this connection it must be remembered that all the dies of Nuremberg coins that were found in the mint when it was closed in 1807 were transported to Munich and delivered to the Royal Bavarian mint.

The letters I.P.W. refer to the engraver Johann Peter Werner who cut the die, the letters K and R to the mintmaster Riedner and the warden Knoll respectively.

C 2. 1795. Taler (Adam, No. 170).

Obv. Same as C 1.

Rev. An urn from which garlands of leaves hang down to both sides of an oval with the inscription X./EINE FEINE/MARK. The date 17-95 is divided by the urn. Below the oval is the third coat of arms between the letters K and R. PLATE XIV, 1.

C 3. 1806. Sketch for a taler (Gebert, p. 123).

After the annexation of Nuremberg by Bavaria Rösch requested permission from the Bavarian Government to strike a "Nuremberg" taler with the effigy of King Maximilian Joseph. He submitted a drawing, but it is not known whether a die was made and sample specimens struck. In any event none have ever appeared to date. The Bavarian Government, as far as is known, never replied to Rösch's request.

D. SIX-KREUZER PIECES

D 1. 1806. Six-kreuzer.

Obv. Third coat of arms in shield with mural crown, garlands around.

Rev. 6/KR in oval wreath. Around: NÜRNBERG: SCHEIDEMÜNZ ⌘ 1806 ⌘. PLATE XIV, 2.

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Note: NÜRNBERGER SCHEIDEMÜNZ means Nuremberg subsidiary coinage. As said above, these pieces are not struck on the Convention standard. According to that standard there should have been 200 6-kreuzer pieces or 240 5-kreuzer pieces to the fine mark of silver. At the weight and fineness described above there were actually 270 of these 6-kreuzer pieces to the fine mark of silver. Three dies known.

D 2. 1807. Six-kreuzer.

Mentioned by Kull (p. 372) without any description. Probably similar to D 1.

E. THREE-KREUZER PIECES

E 1. 1806. Three-kreuzer.

Obv. Third coat of arms in shield with mural crown, garlands around.

Rev. 3/KR in oval wreath. Around: NÜRNBERG SCHEIDEMÜNZ 1806. PLATE XIV, 3.

Note: As said above, the coinage of pieces below the three-kreuzer had remained unregulated by the Convention of 1753, and this three-kreuzer piece as a successor of the old two-kreuzer piece really had no required weight or fineness. For the sake of comparison it may, however, be said that the original Convention groschen were 400 to the fine mark of silver, whereas these three-kreuzer pieces of 1806 are 588.8 to the fine mark. Four dies known.

E 2. 1806. Three-kreuzer.

Obv. Same as E 1.

Rev. III/KREUZER/1806, in three lines, below a garland draped over a horizontal line, above: NÜRNBERG SCHEIDEMÜNZ. PLATE XIV, 4.

Note: One die known.

E 3. 1807. Three-kreuzer.

Mentioned by Kull (p. 372) without description.

E 4. 1808. Three-kreuzer.

Kull (p. 372) mentions such a piece. He attaches a question mark, and indeed, it must seem most un-

likely that such a coin should exist in view of the facts that the mint was closed on February 11, 1807, that all the coining equipment was transported to Munich, and that the Bavarian Government had strictly prohibited any further coinage.

F. KREUZERS

F 1. 1783. Kreuzer.

Obv. Second coat of arms in shield, around, beginning upper right: STADT-MUNTZ, above: N.

Rev. Third coat of arms in lozenge, above 4 \mathfrak{A} .
below 17-83. PLATE XIV, 5,

Note: \mathfrak{A} is the abbreviation for pfennig (denarius). The design is the one constantly used since 1764, but 1783 is its last year. One die known.

F 2. 1786. Kreuzer.

Obv. Second and third coat of arms in two joined rococo shields, above: STADT MÜNZ, below K.R.

Rev. 1/KREU/ZER/-/1786 in five lines.

PLATE XIV, 6.

Note: Two dies known.

F 3. 1796. Kreuzer.

Obv. Third coat of arms in shield with mural crown, garlands on both sides.

Rev. 1/KREÜ/ZER within a garland in the shape of an urn, above: 17-96, below: N. PLATE XIV, 7.

Note: Also known in gold in the weight of a half ducat (Rainer Sale, No. 1383; Kull, p. 678). Two dies known.

F 4. 1796. Kreuzer.

Obv. City view from the east, radiant triangle above, in exergue: 1796.

Rev. First, second and third coat of arms connected by ribbons, below: 1 (N) K.

Note: One die known. (No illustration available.)

F 5. 1797. Kreuzer.

Obv. Female figure (Noris) seated, looking left towards the radiant sun. The left hand is placed on an

oval shield with the third coat of arms, the right hand holds aloft an olive branch.

Rev. I./KREÜ/ZER in three lines in an urn-shaped garland, above: 17-97, below: N (similar to F 3).

PLATE XIV, 8.

Note: The olive branch probably refers to the Peace of Campo Formio concluded between Napoleon and the Holy Roman Empire in 1797. Two dies known.

F 6. 1797. Kreuzer.

Obv. Third coat of arms in oval shield decorated by garlands.

Rev. Same as F 5.

PLATE XIV, 9.

Note: Five dies known.

F 7. 1797. Kreuzer.

Obv. Third coat of arms in oval shield between laurel branches.

Rev. ⌘ I ⌘ / KREUZER / 1797 in three lines, two crossed palm leaves below, further below: N.

PLATE XIV, 10.

Note: One die known.

F 8. 1798. Kreuzer.

Obv. Standing female figure (Noris) facing left; the left hand is placed on an oval shield with the third coat of arms, with her right hand she throws incense on an altar.

Rev. ⌘ I ⌘ / KREÜ / ZER / - / 1798. in five lines within a draped garland.

PLATE XV, 1.

Note: Two dies known.

F 9. 1798. Kreuzer.

Obv. Third coat of arms in decorated rococo cartouche.

Rev. Same as F 8.

PLATE XV, 2.

Note: Four dies known.

F 10. 1798. Kreuzer.

Obv. Same as F 9.

Rev. ⌘ I ⌘ / KREÜZER / 1798 / — in four lines in a quatrefoil.

PLATE XV, 3.

Note: Two dies known.

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F 11. 1799. Kreuzer.

Obv. Chronos with scythe sitting, facing left.
Above in oval: 1799.

Rev. ⌘ I ⌘ /NURNB:/KREÛ:/ZER. in four lines
in a circle of leaves. PLATE XV, 4.

Note: Three dies known, also one specimen on a
thicker flan in apparently higher-grade silver.

F 12. 1799. Kreuzer.

Obv. Third coat of arms in decorated rococo car-
touche (similar to F 9 and F 10).

Rev. .I./ KREÛ / ZER/ 1799 within draped gar-
land (similar to F 8 and F 9). PLATE XV, 5.

Note: One die known.

F 13. 1806. Kreuzer.

Obv. Rosebush, around: WANDLE AUF
ROSEN.

Rev. Third coat of arms leaning against pedestal
on which pyramid; below: 1806, above in semicircle:
N.L.M. — 1 K ST. PLATE XV, 6.

Note: N(ürnberg) L(and) M(ünz) 1 K(reuzer)
ST(adtwährung) means: Nuremberg territorial coin
1-kreuzer city currency. Five dies known.

F 14. 1806. Kreuzer.

Obv. City view from the east, radiant triangle
above, below: I E R.

Rev. Same as F 13. PLATE XV, 7.

Note: I E R stands for Iohann Egydius Rösch,
the mintmaster. Two dies known.

F 15. 1806. Kreuzer.

Obv. Third coat of arms in shield with mural
crown, garlands on both sides.

Rev. 1 / KREUZER/ 1806 / — in four lines, above
in semicircle: NURN. L. MUNZ. PLATE XV, 8.

Note: Two dies known.

F 16. 1807. Kreuzer.

Obv. City view from the west, radiant triangle
above, in exergue: I.E.R.

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




Rev. Third coat of arms leaning against pedestal on which a pyramid, below: 1807, above in semicircle: N.L.M. – 1 K ST (similar to F 13 and F 14).
PLATE XV, 9.

Note: One die known.

G. PFENNIGS

Description of Types

The most frequently used designs of pfennigs during the period from 1782 to 1807 are the following:



- Type I. *Obv.* Third coat of arms in garnished oval shield, above: S.1.  between divided date. *Rev.* Double eagle.
- Type II. Uniface. Third coat of arms in shield between divided date, above: S.1. . This is the traditional type of uniface pfennig and had been in use since 1675. It was last used in 1790.
- Type III. Uniface. Third coat of arms in garnished oval shield, above in semicircle: S. 1.  date in horizontal line, below this semicircle.
- Type IV. Uniface. Third coat of arms in garnished oval shield, above S. 1.  between divided date. (Same as obverse of Type I.)
- Type V. Uniface. Second and third coats of arms in oval shields connected by garlands; above: .1. between divided date.
- Type VI. Uniface. First, second and third coats of arms in usual arrangement. Date divided to the sides of the first coat of arms. (1) below.
- Type VII. Uniface. Third coat of arms in kidney-shaped shield; above S1  between divided date.
- Type VIII. Uniface. Third coat of arms in shield. Palm leaves on both sides; above in semicircle: S1  between divided date.
- Type IX. Uniface. Third coat of arms before altar on which leaves.

Type X. Uniface. Third coat of arms in a shield. Above an urn from which garlands hang down to both sides of the shield. 1- ∞ to both sides of the urn. Below: the date.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF PFENNIGS

- G 1. 1782. (Im Hof, II, 1000.321.) Type I. Two dies known. PLATE XV, 10.
- G 2. 1782. Type II. One die known.
- G 3. 1783. Type II. One die known. PLATE XV, 11.
- G 4. 1784. Type I. One die known.
- G 5. 1784. Type II. Two dies known.
- G 6. 1785. Type II. One die known.
- G 7. 1786. Type II. Two dies known.
- G 8. 1787. Type II. One die known.
- G 9. 1788. Type III. Two dies known. PLATE XV, 12.
- G 10. 1789. Type I. One die known.
- G 11. 1789. Type III. Two dies known.
- G 12. 1789. Type IV. One die known.
- G 13. 1790. Type II. Two dies known.
- G 14. 1790. Type IV. One die known.
- G 15. 1791. Type IV. Three dies known.
- G 16. 1792. Type IV. Four dies known. PLATE XV, 13.
- G 17. 1793. Type IV. One die known.
- G 18. 1793. Type V. Three dies known. PLATE XV, 14.
- G 19. 1794. Type V. Two dies known.
- G 20. 1795. Type V. One die known.
- G 21. 1796. Type VI. Three dies known. PLATE XV, 15.
- G 22. 1796. Uniface: Third coat of arms in garnished oval shield with mural crown. 17-96 to both sides of the shield, (1) below. One die known. PLATE XV, 20.
- G 23. 1797. Type IV. Two dies known.
- G 24. 1797. Type VI. One die known.
- G 25. 1798. Type VII. Three dies known.
- G 26. 1799. Type VII. Three dies known. PLATE XV, 16.

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- G 27. 1799. Type VIII. Four dies known. PLATE XV, 17.
 G 28. 1806. Type VIII. Two dies known.
 G 29. 1806. Type IX. One die known.
 G 30. 1806. Type X. One die known. PLATE XV, 19.
 G 31. 1806. Uniface: Third coat of arms within draped garlands. Above: 1-, below: 1806. One die known. PLATE XV, 21.
 G 32. 1806. Uniface: Third coat of arms in oval decorated at top with a ribbon tied in a large bow. Above in semicircle: 18 1  06. Three dies known. PLATE XV, 22.
 G 33. 1807. Type IX. One die known. PLATE XV, 18.
 G 34. 1807. Type X. One die known.

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HERBERT J. ERLANGER

COINS OF SOLMS

(SEE PLATES XVI-XVII)

IN March 1946 the Society was fortunate in acquiring through purchase a noteworthy series of coins and medals of Solms. The small principality of Solms was situated in the region of Nassau on both sides of the Lahn River, a tributary of the Rhine. Its mediatized reigning house was descended from Marquard I (c. 1129-41), Lord of Solms, and the title of Prince was acquired by the two main branches of Solms-Braunfels and Solms-Hohensolms-Lich in 1742 and 1792 respectively.

The history and coinage of the small country has been treated thoroughly in Paul Joseph's *Die Münzen und Medaillen des fürstlichen und gräflichen Hauses Solms* published at Frankfurt in 1912. Thus we limit the description of the collection to a brief inventory with reference to Joseph's publication. Among the forty-three pieces in the collection there are many rarities, the more important of which are illustrated.

LIST OF COINS

1. SOLMS-LICH. *Ernest II* 1602-1619. Albus 1611. Joseph 72.
2. 3 Kreuzer Klippe 1619. Joseph 107. Unique. PLATE XVI, 1.
3. *Otto Sebastian & Ludwig Christoph*. 3 Batzen 1621. Joseph 118. Unique. PLATE XVI, 2.
4. Kipper 6 Kreuzer 1621. Joseph 119.
5. SOLMS-GREIFFENSTEIN. *Philipp* 1612-1631. Groschen 1619. Joseph 159 (2 varieties).
6. SOLMS-HOHEN-SOLMS. *Philipp Reinhard I* 1613-1635. Groschen 1619. Joseph 216.

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7. 3 Batzen 1620. Joseph 219. Saurma 2328.
8. *Ludwig* 1668-1707. Gulden 1676. Joseph 261B.
9. Gulden without date. Joseph 285. Weise 1833, 1.
10. Gulden without date with counterstamp of the Franconian district. Compare Joseph 291. Weise 1832, 2.
11. Gulden without date. Joseph 292. Weise 1831.
12. 6 Albus 1693. Joseph 295.
13. Albus 1694. Joseph 298.
14. SOLMS-RÖDELHEIM. *Friedrich* 1607-1635. Half Taler 1622. Joseph 404. Unique. PLATE XVI, 3.
The die-cutting is the same as on the contemporary Talers of Frankfurt; therefore it is very probable that the Rodelheim dies are cut by the Frankfurt die-sinker Lorenz Schilling, or at least made in his workshop under his supervision.
15. SOLMS-LAUBACH. *Albert Otto* II 1610-1656. Kipper 6 Kreuzer 1621. Joseph 416.
16. SOLMS-RÖDELHEIM II. *Johann August* with his three brothers 1632-1665. Half Taler 1658. Joseph 428 (only 2 specimens known). PLATE XVI, 4.
17. *Anonymous* Albus 1656. Joseph 430 a & b. 2 pcs.
18. Albus 1658. Joseph 434.
19. *Johann August* alone 1665-1680. Gulden 1675. Joseph 437c. Weise 1837, 2 (2 specimens).
20. Gulden 1676, altered from 1675. Joseph 438.
21. Gulden 1676. Joseph 440. Weise 1837.
22. SOLMS-LAUBACH II. *Christian August* 1738-1784. Taler without date struck of pewter. Joseph 445. Madai 4390. Catalogue Schulthess 5694.
23. Taler 1738 commemorating his marriage to Elizabeth Frederike of Isenburg. Joseph 446. Madai 4391. Catalogue Schulthess 5695.
24. Taler 1748 commemorating the death of his first wife, Elizabeth Amalie, Princess of Isenburg. Joseph 447. Catalogue Schulthess 5696.
25. Taler 1754 commemorating the death of his third wife, Dorothea Wilhelmine von Boetticher. Joseph 448. Madai 4393. Catalogue Schulthess 5697.

26. Taler 1767 commemorating his resignation from the Wetterau Directorate. Joseph 451. Catalogue Schulthess 5698.
27. Taler 1767 commemorating the wedding of his successor Georg August Wilhelm. Joseph 452. Madai 5875. Catalogue Schulthess 5699.
28. Taler 1768 commemorating the construction of the salt-works "Christianswerk." Joseph 453. Madai 5876. Catalogue Schulthess 5700.
29. Half Gulden 1769 commemorating the birth of his second grandson, Friedrich Ludwig Christian. Joseph 455. Madai 6872.
30. Taler 1770 commemorating his ancestor Count Otto. Joseph 456. Madai 6874. Catalogue Schulthess 5701.
31. Taler 1770 commemorating the hunting lodge "Sorgenloos." Joseph 457. Madai 6876.
32. Quarter Taler 1770 commemorating the third and eighth grandsons. Joseph 459. Madai 6873.
33. *Friedrich* 1872-1900. Uniface silver medallion 1893 (by Professor Peter Fuchs, sculptor at the Cologne Cathedral). Joseph 461.
34. SOLMS-BARUTH. *Johann Christian II* 1800. Silver medal without date (by Loos). Joseph 463. Catalogue Schulthess 5702.
35. SOLMS-BRAUNFELS. *Wilhelm Moritz* 1676-1724. $\frac{2}{3}$ Taler 1692. Joseph 472. PLATE XVII, 1.
36. 15 Kreuzer 1692. Joseph 473.
37. Double Albus 1693. Joseph 474. Two die varieties.
38. Albus 1693. Joseph 476.

HENRY GRUNTHAL

COIN WEIGHTS FROM THE EKLUND COLLECTION

(SEE PLATE XVII)

IN 1946 the American Numismatic Society acquired a collection of 125 coin weights as a gift from Mr. O. P. Eklund. It consisted of pieces used by bankers and merchants, during the late fifteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, to test the weights of coins received by them in trade. Specimens are present in the collection from Great Britain, the Low Countries, Germany, France, Italy and Spain. The following pieces are either previously unpublished or varieties of published examples.

1. Flanders. Florin Philippus.¹ Late 15th century. Rough irregular flan. Wt. 3.27 gr.

Obv. St. Philip standing facing holding staff.

Rev. LXXIIII below St. Andrew's cross.

PLATE XVII, 2.

The Roman numerals signify the number of pieces to the gold mark; in this case seventy-four.

2. Gelderland. Rider. 17th century. Square flan. Wt. 3.22 gr.

Obv. Within beaded circle, mounted armored figure riding to left.

Rev. Device (maker's mark?). PLATE XVII, 3.

3. Austrian Netherlands. Demi-Souverain² made by Gérard de Corduanier of Brussels. Wt. 5.55 gr.

Obv. Lion rampant to r. supporting armorial shield with his left paw and with upraised sword in his right.

Rev. Lion crouchant to left on pedestal below winged head; to left C, and to right D. PLATE XVII, 4.

¹ *Revue Numismatique*, 1863, p. 281, Pl. XV, 14 var.

² De Witte, A. "Quelques ajusteurs jurés des poids et balances en fonctions aux Pays-Bas autrichiens durant la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle." *Revue Belge de la Num.*, 1895, Pl. II, 15.

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4. Milan. Ducat.³ Giovanni Galeazzo Maria Sforza. 1481–1494. Wt. 3.07.

Obv. Portrait of the duke to the left.

Rev. Three counterstamps: 1. Letter C. 2. Eagle within square. 3. Crown over 57 within circle. PLATE XVII, 5.

5. Milan. Doppia. Philip III of Spain 1598–1621. Wt. 3.54 gr.

Obv. Radiate bust of Philip III facing to the right. In the left field D and in the right M.

Rev. Within incuse square 1619, incuse crown on raised six-sided device, and below, an incuse star. PLATE XVII, 6.

JOHN L. DRESSER

³ Dieudonné, *Manuel des Poids Monétaires*, Pl. XIV, 3 (Teston).

MONEDAS DE LA PROVINCIA
DE MENDOZA
ACUÑADAS EN 1823 Y 1824*
(LAMINAS XVIII-XIX)

TODA investigación numismática requiere como base esencial para su seriedad científica, el conocimiento general y particular de la historia, geografía, economía y sociología del lugar donde se realizó la acuñación de las piezas monetarias, objeto del estudio. Esos factores son causas influyentes en la clase, metal y tipo de la moneda batida, sus valores, título, denominación y número de piezas lanzadas a la circulación. En la numismática argentina muchas acuñaciones fueron originadas por las causas antedichas, siendo la de la provincia de Mendoza una de ellas. Por esta razón es necesario ubicar a esa provincia en el medio político y económico de la época, para investigar con el auxilio de aquellas importantes fuentes sus inciertas monedas y hacer las inferencias correspondientes.

En la Real Cédula de erección del virreinato del Río de la Plata de 1° de agosto de 1776, Carlos III daba instrucciones precisas al primer virrey, D. Pedro de Cevallos, de que bajo su jurisdicción quedaban los territorios de las ciudades de Mendoza y

* Editor's note: This article was provided by the Instituto Bonaerense de Numismática y Antigüedades in response to a request for information concerning Mendozan coins. It is here published both in the original Spanish and in translation (pp. 105-118). The coins illustrated are from the collections of Arnold Perpall and Wayte Raymond, who have kindly given permission for their reproduction. Photographs for the Tucumán specimens were furnished by Humberto F. Burzio, a joint author of the article.

San Juan del Rico, que eran dependientes de la gobernación de Chile.

La célebre "Ordenanzas de Intendentes" del año 1783 había agrupado administrativamente en siete intendencias las gobernaciones pertenecientes al virreinato del Río de la Plata, con dependencia de la de Buenos Aires, que por su calidad rectora, se le daba la categoría de superintendencia.

La provincia de Mendoza pertenecía a la Intendencia de Cuyo, teniendo por capital a la ciudad de Mendoza. Al tiempo de la revolución emancipadora y hasta el año 1820, comprendía las provincias de Mendoza, San Juan y San Luis con el nombre de provincia de Cuyo, agrupación política nacida en el decreto del triunvirato de Buenos Aires de 29 de noviembre de 1813. Su capital continuó siendo Mendoza. Siendo gobernador el coronel Pedro José Campos tuvo lugar la división de la región de Cuyo en tres provincias independientes. Mendoza fué una de estas divisiones y en 1820 el coronel Campos fué designado su primer gobernador; sucedióle casi inmediatamente el Cabildo, el cual, en julio de ese año, entregó el poder al Dr. Tomás Godoy Cruz cuyo gobierno duró hasta 1822. Desde mayo de este año hasta el 29 de abril de 1824 fué gobernador el coronel D. Pedro Molina, acaudalado vecino de Mendoza. Durante su mandato se creó la casa de moneda llamada "El Cuño" (The Die), y se acuñaron las monedas de plata que estudiamos.

Antes de entrar a reseñar los datos conocidos sobre esa debatida acuñación, es necesario conocer

el panorama monetario de las provincias del antiguo virreinato del Río de la Plata, de la que formaba parte la de Mendoza. El numerario de todas estas vastas regiones era suministrado por la ceca de Potosí, enclavada en una de sus dependencias y en menor escala, por las de Lima y Santiago de Chile, como resultado del intercambio comercial que se mantenía con éstas. La que surtía regularmente de numerario a las zonas andina, mediterránea y litoral del virreinato era la de Potosí, que en 1776, con motivo de la creación de esa unidad política colonial, había sido separada de la jurisdicción del virreinato del Perú y puesta bajo la dependencia de la de Buenos Aires.

Sin embargo, la moneda fué siempre escasa en toda esta región, escasez atribuida en gran parte a los pagos del comercio marítimo que Buenos Aires hacía con el Brasil y al contrabando practicado en gran escala, a causa del absurdo sistema de monopolio impuesto por España a sus colonias de América. La moneda circulante era la circular de busto, con cordoncillo, y la irregular macuquina. Esta última había sido teóricamente retirada de la circulación por Real Cédula de 29 de mayo de 1772 que estableció el tipo de busto de cordoncillo al canto, fijando su ley, de acuerdo a la Real Cédula de 18 de marzo de 1771 en 10 dineros 20 granos para las de plata y 21 quilates $2\frac{1}{2}$ granos para las de oro. Esta última fué rebajada a 21 quilates por la Real Orden "muy reservada" de 25 de febrero de 1786. El recojo de la moneda macuquina nunca pudo llevarse a cabo totalmente, a causa de que la labración

de la moneda más perfecta de cordoncillo, no alcanzaba a cubrir las necesidades de la circulación. Esta es la razón por la cual, después de 51 años de su desmonetización aparecen en lugares del territorio del virreinato del Río de la Plata, como las provincias de La Rioja, Mendoza y Tucumán, acuñaciones de ese defectuoso tipo. El medio siglo transcurrido desde la primera disposición de la Metrópoli para su desmonetización y retiro, nos lleva a la convicción de que la preocupación de las autoridades coloniales para una mayor labración de la nueva moneda de busto, no fué lo suficientemente intensa como para que aquella surtiese el efecto para la cual había sido dictada.

La primera moneda argentina independiente en oro y en plata, fué la batida en Potosí en 1813, al apoderarse el general Belgrano que mandaba el ejército del Norte, esa rica Villa Imperial, asiento del famoso cerro y de su no menos ceca. La moneda tenía grabada los símbolos nacionales y se acuñó en cuanto a su tipo, título y demás características intrínsecas respetando las ordenanzas monetarias españolas. Perdida la villa al finalizar ese año, fué reocupada en 1815, año en que se volvió a acuñar moneda del tipo anterior, pero sólo en plata. A pesar de que ambas acuñaciones se sumaron a la moneda circulante española, a la que no pudo subrogar como era la intención, el numerario era escaso por emigrar en gran cantidad por las exigencias del comercio de importación y los grandes gastos militares de las campañas de la Independencia.

La provincia de Córdoba intenta en 1815 una labración local de moneda sin resultado y la de La Rioja en 1821-1822, una del tipo macuquino, con los símbolos españoles de León y Castilla, con la diferencia del cambio del mote PLUS ULTRA por el de la provincia RIOXA y otros detalles menores, que en esencia no hacían variar su tipo fundamental.

Mendoza por esa época ve reducido su comercio con Buenos Aires, que era el centro político, económico, social y comercial del país, debido a la inseguridad y mal estado de los caminos, las depredaciones de los indios y la disminución del intercambio con Chile, que con la campaña libertadora al Perú del general San Martín, momentáneamente, con el desplazamiento de su ejército siguió el de la economía y recursos.

Tal situación tuvo lógicas repercusiones en la moneda circulante, vehículo obligado de toda economía. Su necesidad y escasez fué notoria en Mendoza y demás provincias cuyanas en el período que estamos historiando. El cronista Damián Hudson, autor de *Recuerdos Históricos sobre la Provincia de Cuyo*, da cuenta circunstanciada de lo ocurrido con tal motivo. Trae el dato importante del falseamiento de la moneda colonial española en las provincias de Cuyo y de las medidas adoptadas por los gobiernos provinciales para cortar el abuso. Una de las providencias dispuestas por el de Mendoza fué la acuñación de moneda, adoptando el tipo de la macuquina colonial española, cuya primitiva técnica de acuñación, tosca y defectuosa, se pres-

taba admirablemente para batirla en gran cantidad, con la ventaja de que no eran necesarias máquinas y volantes costosos y de precisión.

A tal efecto, el gobierno envió un proyecto a la Legislatura para la creación de una casa de moneda, la cual lo aprobó con fuerza de ley el 6 de agosto de 1822, con recomendación al Poder Ejecutivo de que el peso y ley de la moneda debía ser el de la nacional.¹ Para la impronta de la moneda se tomaría como modelo "el signo de la cortada, corriente por ahora." El 27 de septiembre del mismo año la Legislatura aprueba otro proyecto de ley sobre amonedación de piezas de cobre, como complemento del aprobado el mes anterior sobre el establecimiento de la casa de moneda. Esta ley disponía la acuñación de una moneda de cobre del valor de $\frac{1}{8}$ del real de plata, de forma circular y de un diámetro medio entre el $\frac{1}{2}$ real y el cuartillo. Respecto a su impronta, en una de las caras se le estamparía las armas de Mendoza y en la otra su valor. Se sellaría por un importe de 10000 pesos. Su diámetro, inadecuado por su pequeñez, motivó una observación del gobierno y las disposiciones de la ley fueron modificadas el 29 de octubre en el sentido de que su tamaño sería el del real de plata y su peso el de dos reales.

¹ El título de las monedas de plata estaba fijado por la Real Cédula de 18 de marzo de 1771 en 10 dineros 20 granos (902,77 milésimos) el que fué rebajado en acuñaciones posteriores a 10 dineros 18 granos (895,8 milésimos). Su peso era el corriente de la talla de 68 reales por marco de Castilla, lo que presumía los siguientes para los dos valores de moneda que ordenábanse batir (pesetas y cuartos de plata): 2 Rs. 6,7660 gramos, 4 Rs. 13,5320 gramos. Este título

Mientras tanto, progresando la instalación de la casa de moneda, "El Cuño," como se la conocía, se activaron las labores para proveer a Mendoza de su numerario de plata. El pueblo prestó su más entusiasta apoyo y las familias pudientes llevaron a la casa de moneda, vajilla de plata y cuanto adorno del mismo metal poseían para convertirlos en plata amonedada. El 13 de noviembre de 1822 se inauguró públicamente la casa, acto que fué celebrado con fiestas bulliciosas, pues el pueblo mendocino esperaba que "El Cuño," al incrementar con su actividad el numerario circulante, traería grandes beneficios y la prosperidad a la provincia. El numismático argentino D. Enrique Peña en su estudio *Acuñación de Moneda Provincial en Mendoza, en los años 1822-1824*, asegura que sólo llegó a labrarse en ese día 36 piezas distribuidas como recuerdo del acontecimiento entre los principales concurrentes.

La expectativa entusiasta que había despertado la instalación de la casa de moneda, fué poco a poco entibiándose en el pueblo y comercio a causa de que la cantidad de piezas labradas en "El Cuño" no satisfacía las reales necesidades de la población y al hecho, de por sí grave, de que la misma fué falsada en gran escala a poco de salir a circulación. Ocurría con ella igual fenómeno que con la espa-

y peso había sido ya adoptado por la Asamblea General Constituyente de las Provincias del Río de la Plata por ley de 13 de abril de 1813. Esta dispuso la acuñación de la primera moneda independiente con el peso y ley de la española entonces circulante, disposición legal que fué cumplida en la casa de moneda de Potosí en 1813 y 1815.

ñola corriente, que habíase pretendido desterrar con la nueva moneda provincial. Las penas dictadas por el gobierno para evitar el mal, como la del 12 de noviembre de 1822 (pena de muerte y confiscación de bienes) y la de 5 de diciembre de 1823 (diversas penas de destierro o presidio) no fueron suficientes y la falsedad de la moneda continuó.

En el entusiasmo de los primeros momentos pensóse en completar la acuñación de las monedas de cobre y plata, batiéndose también de oro y a tal fin, la Legislatura por ley de 15 de enero de 1823 autorizó la labración de moneda de oro con el sello de la provincia, debiéndose cumplir los requisitos exigidos para la moneda nacional en su ley, peso, módulo, etc. Una nueva ley de 5 de julio de ese año dispuso la fabricación de moneda de oro y plata con cordoncillo al canto, sirviendo de modelo la nacional y con el agregado, ausente en las otras leyes, de que debía llevar las iniciales de Mendoza en el lugar que correspondiera. Las leyes citadas no fueron llevadas a la práctica, presumiblemente por temor a los falsarios que habían con sus fraudes llevado a la moneda mendocina a un descrédito tan público y notorio que había rebasado los límites de la provincia y obligado al gobierno de Chile a expedir un decreto, prohibiendo el curso en su territorio de la moneda acuñada en esa provincia.

El malestar causado por el fracaso monetario del gobernador Molina tradújose en un motín del pueblo, que en esa forma tumultuosa exteriorizó su indignación por el manejo culpable que de sus bienes había hecho el gobierno, acusándolo de

incapacidad para suprimir a los falsarios e inculpándolo de estar en connivencia con éstos. El 29 de abril de 1824, un cabildo abierto del pueblo depuso al gobernador Molina, nombrando otro en su reemplazo. Con ello terminó el proceso de la fabricación de la moneda mendocina y de su adulteración del período 1822-1824. Años más tarde, el coronel Molina retornó al poder e intentó en 1835, con escasa fortuna, volver a acuñar moneda provincial de la que sólo se conoce un ejemplar en cobre de $\frac{1}{8}$ de real, proveniente tal vez del ensayo o prueba de cuño del numerario proyectado.

No puede formularse ningún juicio crítico de la amonedación mendocina sin conocer previamente las acuñaciones realizadas en la provincia de La Rioja (1821-1822) y en la de Tucumán (1821), esta última en el breve lapso que políticamente constituyó la República Federal. La similitud de las piezas que constituyen estas tres amonedaciones, hablan de una misma técnica monetaria. Son del tipo macuquino y presentan la particularidad coincidente las de La Rioja y Tucumán, de que los cantones inferiores de las columnas de Hércules están ocupados por las letras *M-A*.

La insuficiencia del conocimiento de la amonedación riojana y tucumana, especialmente de esta última, ha llevado a algunos numismáticos a interpretar esa sigla como *Provincia de Mendoza*, deducción errada a nuestro juicio, pues las monedas de Mendoza llevan fecha de 1823 y 1824 y en cambio las de las dos provincias primeramente citadas las

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de 1821 y 1821-1822 respectivamente. Con más fundamento debe atribuirse esa sigla a las iniciales del ensayador, cuyos servicios siguiendo esa hipótesis, habrían sido contratados sucesivamente por los gobiernos de Tucumán y La Rioja, al instalarse sus respectivos talleres monetarios. La descripción de esos tres tipos de moneda es la siguiente:²

TUCUMÁN

Anverso: En el centro del campo, gran cruz de Jerusalén, cantonada, que lo divide prácticamente en cuatro cuarteles, conteniendo el 1° y 4° un castillo y el 2° y 3° un león, símbolos de las armas de Castilla y León, con arcos pareados que cierran sus entradas. En cada uno de los cuatro extremos de los brazos de la cruz figura una letra, siendo la de su derecha una *P*, la de su izquierda una *V*, la superior una *L* y la inferior una *S*, formando la palabra *PLVS*. El todo está encerrado en una gráfila de estrías.

Reverso: Ocupando el campo, dos columnas, imitación de las españolas de Hércules, rematadas con un florón,³ en vez de una corona, entre las cuales se encuentra el valor de la pieza, 4 (4 reales). Cartela central en la que figura el mote *PLUS ULTRA*, en la forma siguiente: *LV/SVL/TR*. En los cantones, formados por las columnas y la cartela del mote, las iniciales siguientes: superiores, *P - A*; inferiores,

² En este aspecto numismatográfico consideramos que el anverso o reverso de estas monedas provinciales independientes, debe ser fijado considerando la pieza española colonial que le sirvió de copia, por cuanto disposiciones gubernativas así lo disponían, como la del gobierno de Mendoza de 6 de agosto de 1822. Por lo tanto, la cara de la moneda que ostenta la cruz de Jerusalén debe considerarse como anverso y la de las columnas de Hércules como reverso.

³ Editor's note: In the Spanish the authors say, "Rematadas con un florón, en vez de una corona." In actuality, there are badly executed crowns of a formalized design above the pillars. They are almost exact copies of the crowns on the "cobs" of Philip IV and Charles II from the Lima and Potosí Mints (see Pls. XVIII-XXI of *A. N. S. Museum Notes I*).

M-A. Las columnas se encuentran apoyadas en ondas de mar y entre sus basas se halla la fecha, 821 (1821). El todo, como en el anverso, se encuentra encerrado en un círculo de estrías.

LAM. XVIII, 1-2.

Estas monedas, confundidas con las de Mendoza por varios numismáticos, han sido clasificadas por el numismático argentino D. Román F. Pardo, como de la República Federal de Tucumán, en cuyo archivo se encuentra la documentación monetaria original, que demuestra que en dicho año hubo acuñación oficial de moneda en la ciudad de Tucumán. Para refuerzo de su tesis, en su artículo *Monedas Provinciales Mendocinas*,⁴ presenta el grabado de cuatro piezas tucumanas, reselladas por el gobierno de Mendoza, cuando éste las habilitó como propias, con la contramarca FIDELIDAD y una simbólica balanza, garantizando así la bondad de su ley.

LA RIOJA

Anverso: Cruz de Jerusalén cantonada, cuyos cuarteles 1° y 4° contienen un castillo y el 2° y 3° un león, estando sus entradas cerradas por un arco pareado. Arriba, las letras *L* (o *L V*, según muestra fragmentariamente un ejemplar de 4 Rs. (1822), existente en la colección de la Sta. Elisa Peña de Buenos Aires); debajo las letras *L* (o *T L V*, de la observación anterior). A su derecha *A* y a su izquierda *S*. Gráfica de estrías. Todas las letras parecerían indicar el mote PLVS VLTRA, aunque la posición de las mismas no lo señale literalmente.

Reverso: Las clásicas columnas de Hércules rematadas en florones y cartela central con la palabra RIOXA. El valor

⁴ "Boletín del Instituto Bonaerense de Numismática y Antigüedades," Año I, No. I, pág. 64, Buenos Aires, 1943.

de la pieza se encuentra entre el remate indicado y los cuarteles superiores de las columnas, que muestran las letras *S - P* y en otras *P - R*. En los cuarteles inferiores las letras *M - A* y entre las basas de las columnas, la fecha 821 (1821) y 822 (1822). Gráfica de estrías como en el anverso. LAM. XVII, 3.

Esta moneda fué acuñada en mayor cantidad que las de Mendoza y Tucumán y con respecto a éstas, presenta la particularidad de que la divisa PLUS ULTRA, está reemplazada por el nombre regional RIOXA, con X en vez de J, anomalía que no tiene explicación satisfactoria, pues el nombre de esa provincia y de su capital epónima, fué siempre escrito con J. Dentro de lo relativo de este tipo de moneda, la labración es esmerada y producto de un hábil grabador, si se la compara con la de Mendoza y con las macuquinas coloniales de los siglos precedentes.

Las iniciales *M - A*, atribuidas al ensayador, se mantienen en el lugar correspondiente, en los cantones inferiores, pero los superiores no presentan las letras *P - A*, sino *P - R* o *S - P* y que si bien las dos primeras pudieran significar Provincia de La Rioja, no se encuentra explicación satisfactoria para las segundas.

Se conocen de los valores de 1 y 2 reales con fecha 1821 y de 2 y 4 reales con la de 1822. Del año probable de 1823 se conocen de plata, de cuño original, del tipo circular y acuñación perfecta para la época, con la leyenda SUR AMERICA-RIOXA-IR, y la variante en oro SUD AMERICA-1823.

De las tres monedas provinciales a que nos referimos, la de La Rioja fué la de acuñación más abun-

dante en razón de que las pastas de plata empleadas eran de procedencia cercana, del cerro de Famatina, cuyas vetas argentíferas producían en la época gran cantidad de metal.

MENDOZA

Anverso: Cruz de Jerusalén cantonada, cuyos cuarteles 1º y 4º contienen un castillo y el 2º y 3º un león. En algunas está alterada esta colocación de los símbolos de Castilla y León, siendo a la inversa. Cubriendo la entrada de dichos cantones, un arco pareado. Arriba del brazo superior de la cruz, un 4, 2 o 1, para significar su valor en reales. Debajo del inferior, el número 23 o 24 para señalar su fecha (1823 o 1824); en los brazos laterales las iniciales *P* e *Υ*. Gráfica de óvalos de tamaño mayor.

Reverso: Columnas de Hércules rematadas en florones y apoyada en dos ondas de mar; cartela central con la divisa PLUS ULTRA, pero sin las letras primera de PLVS y última de VLTRA. En los dos cantones superiores una *P* y una *M*, en el orden indicado, por Provincia de Mendoza. En los inferiores las iniciales del ensayador *P* - *Υ*. Colocado entre el capitel de las columnas el valor y entre sus basas, la fecha 23 o 24. Gráfica como la del anverso. Sobre el valor, las tres cruces del Calvario. LAM. XVIII, 3-4 & XIX, 1-5.

Por los ejemplares conocidos pareciera que la acuñación comprendió los valores de 1, 2 y 4 reales, en 1823 y 2 y 4 reales en 1824. La moneda de plata batida en cumplimiento de la ley de la Legislatura de 6 de agosto de 1822, fué del valor de “pese-tas” (2 reales) y “cuartos de plata.” Entendemos que esta última denominación se refiere a la pieza de 4 reales y no al cuartillo como algunos suponen. La expresión “cuarto” era ya conocida en las leyes monetarias españolas, las que hablan de “cuartos de vellón,” para señalar a la moneda de cobre de 4

maravedises. Por extensión pudo aplicarse esa denominación a la de plata de 4 reales.

Las disposiciones monetarias de la provincia de Mendoza que se conocen, no ordenan la labración de piezas de plata de los valores de 1 y 1/2 real, ni tampoco las cita el historiador Damián Hudson en su obra *Recuerdos Históricos sobre la Provincia de Cuyo*, quien se refiere únicamente a las "pesetas" y "cuartos de plata." Sin embargo, la lógica hace suponer que deben haberse batido regularmente como los otros, pues era un valor divisionario necesario para las pequeñas transacciones comerciales y particulares. Algunos de los ejemplares presentados por el Sr. Perpall, como los Nos. 14 y 16, hacen presumir con fundamento, dada sus características similares con los otros valores, que su fabricación se llevó a cabo en la época.

Analizados los grabados de las dos láminas del trabajo del Sr. Arnold Perpall,⁵ que en una prolija síntesis muestra 23 piezas de plata atribuidas a Mendoza, surgen las siguientes conclusiones:

No. 1. $\frac{1}{2}$ Real. Sin fecha visible en su totalidad, pero, por el fragmento que muestra pareciera ser 182. El monograma es distinto al de las piezas 13, 14 y 16 y similar al del No. 15. Más que Mendoza significa PHILIPPS. La fecha del siglo XIX descarta en apariencia la posibilidad de que corresponda a una acuñación de cualquiera de los Felipes, siendo probable que se trate de una labración clandestina, imitación de aquellas.

No. 2. 1 Real. 1823. Mendoza. LAM. XIX, 3.

⁵ Arnold Perpall, "The Last Colonial American Cobs, 1823-24," in *The Numismatist*, vol. LVIII (1945), pp. 701-703.

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- No. 3. 1 Real. Sin fecha, pero en atención a su característica, similar a la anterior, corresponde a Mendoza.
- No. 4. 2 Reales. 1823. Mendoza.
- No. 5. 2 Reales. 1823. Mendoza. Destacamos que esta pieza tiene la P del cantón inferior reemplazada por una V, mostrando sin letra el otro cantón.
- No. 6. 2 Reales. 1823. Mendoza. LAM. XIX, 1.
- No. 7. 2 Reales. 1823. Mendoza. LAM. XIX, 2.
- No. 8. 2 Reales. 1823. Mendoza.
- No. 9. 4 Reales. 1823. Mendoza. LAM. XVIII, 5.
- No. 10. 4 Reales. 1823. Mendoza.
- No. 11. 4 Reales. 1823. Mendoza.
- No. 12. 4 Reales. 1823. Mendoza. LAM. XVIII, 4.
- No. 13. $\frac{1}{2}$ Real. Sin fecha visible. Su monograma sin la S final puede interpretarse fácilmente como formado por las letras P V y M de *Provincia de Mendoza*, con una línea horizontal para asemejarlo al monograma español colonial de Philippus.
- No. 14. $\frac{1}{2}$ Real. 1824. La misma observación anterior.
- No. 15. $\frac{1}{2}$ Real. Sin fecha visible. La misma observación de la pieza No. 1.
- No. 16. $\frac{1}{2}$ Real. Fecha al parecer de 1824. La misma observación de las piezas Nos. 13 y 14.
- No. 17. 2 Reales. 1824, aunque no muy visible. Mendoza.
- No. 18. 2 Reales. 1824. Mendoza.
- No. 19. 2 Reales. Sin fecha visible. Mendoza. Presenta una contramarca, formada por dos círculos, que contienen cada uno una figura que no puede precisarse dada su poca nitidez.⁶
- No. 20. 2 Reales. 1824. Mendoza. LAM. XIX, 5.
- Nos. 21 y 22. 2 Reales. 1824. Estas dos piezas son distintas

⁶ Editor's note: A plaster cast of this piece is in possession of the American Numismatic Society. In the lower counterstamp there appears to be a liberty cap within a reeded circle; in the upper counterstamp, an anchor without crossbar.

a las piezas enumeradas anteriormente y las iniciales del ensayador son *D - G*. Tampoco muestran la *P* y *M* de los cantones superiores, lo que hace difícil su expertización en base sólomente de su grabado. Su gráfila de grandes óvalos, las hacen en este aspecto, parecidas a las mendocinas descriptas, pero no puede abrirse un juicio terminante sobre ellas sin la observación personal.

- No. 23. 4 Reales. 1824. Mendoza. Edoardo Martinori, en su obra *La Moneta Vocabolario Generale*, Roma, 1915, Lám. LXXX, No. 18, trae el grabado del reverso de una pieza semejante a ésta, que atribuye con interrogante a Nicaragua. LAM. XIX, 4.

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COINAGE OF THE PROVINCE
OF MENDOZA
MINTED IN 1823 AND 1824

(SEE PLATES XVIII-XIX)

TO be scientific and exact all numismatic investigation must be based on a general and detailed knowledge of the history, geography, economics and sociology of the locality in which the coins being studied were struck. All these factors have a direct bearing on the kind, metal and type of money coined, its value, alloy, denomination and number of pieces placed in circulation. In Argentine numismatics many coinages resulted from the above-mentioned factors and that of the Province of Mendoza was no exception. For this reason, we must consider the province in the political and economic background of the period in order to investigate its obscure coinage with the aid of important sources.

In the royal Cédula of August 1776, which created the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, Charles III placed Mendoza and San Juan del Rico under the jurisdiction of its first Viceroy, Don Pedro de Cevallos. Previously, they had been under the government of Chile.

The famous "Ordenanzas de Intendentes" of 1783 grouped, for administrative purposes, the governments of the Río de la Plata Viceroyalty into seven Intendencias. Of these, Buenos Aires was made a Superintendency over the whole group.

The Province of Mendoza belonged to the In-

tendency of Cuyo, with the city of Mendoza as its capital. At the time of the Emancipatory Revolution and up to 1820, the Cuyo Intendency was comprised of Mendoza, San Juan and San Luis. This political group was established by a decree of the Triunvirate of Buenos Aires of November 29, 1813. During the governorship of Colonel Pedro José Campos the Cuyo region was subdivided into three independent provinces, of which Mendoza was one. In 1820, Colonel Campos was designated as its first governor. Almost immediately, he was succeeded by the Cabildo, which body transferred the government to Dr. Tomás Godoy Cruz in July of that year. His regime lasted until 1822. From May of that year to April 29, 1824, the governor was Colonel Don Pedro Molina, a wealthy resident of Mendoza. During his administration, the mint, called "El Cuño" (the Die), was founded and the silver coins with which we are concerned were minted there.

Before summarizing the known data regarding this much discussed coinage, it is necessary to understand the monetary situation in the provinces of the old Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata of which Mendoza formed a part. The specie of these vast regions was supplied by the mint of Potosí, which was located in one of its dependencies, and to a lesser degree by those of Lima and Santiago de Chile as a result of commerce with these cities. Coin was regularly supplied to the Andean, the central and coastal regions by Potosí, which had been taken from the jurisdiction of the Viceroyalty of Peru

and been placed under that of Buenos Aires in 1776.

Nevertheless, money was always scarce in the entire area. The scarcity was due in great part to an unfavorable balance in the maritime trade between Buenos Aires and Brazil and to the large-scale smuggling resulting from the absurd system of monopoly imposed by Spain on her colonies in America. The circulating medium consisted of both the coins of the round bust type and "cobs." Theoretically, the latter had been retired from circulation by the Royal Cédula of May 29, 1772, which established the round bust type. In accordance with the Royal Cédula of March 18, 1771, the silver coin was fixed legally at ten "dineros" and twenty grains and the gold at twenty-one carats two and a half grains per piece. The gold was reduced in content to twenty-one carats by a "secret" Cédula of February 25, 1786. However, the crude "cob" coins could not be completely withdrawn from circulation because the quantity struck of the more perfect new coin was not large enough to meet the needs of circulation. Fifty-one years after the demonetization order, coins of the "cob" type were minted at La Rioja, Mendoza and Tucumán. That this happened a full half-century after the mother country's law calling for demonetization of "cobs" indicates that the colonial authorities were half-hearted in their efforts to produce large quantities of the new and better coin.

The first independent Argentine coinage was that minted in gold and silver at Potosí when Gen-

eral Belgrano at the head of the Northern Army captured the city in 1813. These coins bore the national emblems and were minted according to the standard set by Spanish monetary law. Potosí was lost at the end of that year, but was reoccupied in 1815, when coins of the same type were again struck in silver only. In spite of the fact that both these issues joined those of Spanish origin already in circulation, they could not be substituted for the latter as had been the intention. Their quantity was not large enough to meet the requirements of import trade and large military expenses of the campaigns for Independence.

The province of Córdoba attempted a local coinage without result in 1815. La Rioja issued coin in 1821-22. These were of the "cob" type with the Spanish symbols for Castile and Leon, differing only in the substitution of the name of the province "RIOXA" for the motto "PLUS ULTRA" and other minor details which did not alter its fundamental style.

In this same period commerce decreased between Mendoza and Buenos Aires, the political, social and commercial center of the country. This was due to the insecurity and bad state of the roads and plundering by the Indians. Further, trade with Chile had decreased because her economy had been momentarily dislocated by General San Martin's campaign for liberation.

Such a situation had logical effects on the circulating currency, which is the necessary vehicle of any economy. Its need and scarcity were notorious in Mendoza as it was also in the other provinces of

Cuyo. The historian Damián Hudson, author of *Recuerdos Históricos sobre la Provincia de Cuyo*, gives a detailed account of the resultant situation. He mentions the important fact that Spanish colonial coins were counterfeited in the provinces of Cuyo and recounts the measures adopted by the provincial governments to stamp out the abuse. One of the measures adopted by Mendoza was minting of coins of the "cob" type. These crude and defective pieces were made with a primitive coining technique. Thus, they could be issued in large quantity without costly machinery of great precision.

To authorize this coinage the Mendoza government presented a bill creating a mint which was approved as law by the legislature on August 6, 1822. The bill recommended to the executive branch of the government that the weight and alloy of the coins be that of the national coinage.¹

The design of the "cobs" then current was designated as the model for the coins. On September 27 of the same year, the legislature approved another law authorizing the striking of a copper piece valued at an eighth of a silver real. This piece was ordered to be circular in form with a diameter midway between that of the half-real and the cuar-

¹ The royal Cédula of March 18, 1771, fixed the alloy of silver pieces at 10 dineros 20 grains (902.77 thousandths fine) which was later reduced to 10 dineros 18 grains (895.8 thousandths fine). The weight was set at the standard of 68 reales to a Castilian mark. Thus the weights of the two values ordered struck were: 2 reales 6.7660 grams; 4 reales 13.5320 grams. This alloy and weight had been adopted by the General Constituent Assembly of the Río de la Plata Provinces in a law of April 13, 1813, in which the first independent coinage was ordered.

tillo (fourth of a real). It was further provided that one side should bear the arms of Mendoza and the other its value. Ten thousand pesos worth were to be struck. An observation that the size of the piece would prove to be too small caused the government, through a law of October 29, to modify its size to be equal to the silver real and its weight to the two reales.

Meanwhile, as the installation of the mint was progressing, the preparations to supply Mendoza with silver currency were speeded up. The public gave enthusiastic support. Wealthy families took silver plate and whatever silver ornaments they possessed to the mint for conversion into coin. The mint was opened publicly on November 13, 1822. The occasion was celebrated with great merry-making as the public hoped that the mint in its production would increase the circulating medium and thus bring greatly increased prosperity to the province. The Argentine numismatist, Don Enrique Peña, in his *Acuñaación de Moneda Provincial en Mendoza en los años 1822-1824* asserts that thirty-six pieces were struck as souvenirs for distribution to important participants at the official opening.

The enthusiastic expectations of the people and business interests gradually cooled. The quantity of coins struck by El Cuño, as the mint was called, did not meet the needs of the population. Added to this fact, which was serious enough in itself, the coinage was forged on a large scale soon after appearance. At the same time the current Spanish

coin, which it had been hoped to eliminate, was likewise counterfeited. Penalties set by the government (death and confiscation of property, provided on November 12, 1822, and various penalties of banishment or imprisonment provided on December 5, 1823) proved ineffectual in stopping the abuse.

At the beginning, it was intended after the silver and copper had been completed to strike gold also. To that end the legislature passed a law on January 15, 1823, authorizing gold pieces to be made. These were to bear the seal of the province and to be of the same alloy, size, and weight as that of the national coinage. A new law of July 5 ordered the manufacture of gold and silver coins with reeded edges, modelled on the national coinage, and the initials of Mendoza. These laws were not carried into practice, presumably through fear of the counterfeiting which had so notoriously discredited the Mendoza currency. This distrust had spread beyond the borders of the province to Chile, which had been obliged to prohibit circulation in its territories of coins struck in Mendoza.

The distress caused by the failure of the coinage brought about an uprising of the people. In this drastic manner they showed their indignation at the bad management of their affairs by the government and charged it with being in league with the counterfeiters. On April 29, 1824, a people's congress deposed Governor Molina, naming another to replace him. Thus came to an end the coinage of Mendoza of the period 1822-24. Some years

later, Colonel Molina returned to power and attempted with little success to coin provincial money again. Of this attempt only one piece is known, a copper eighth of a real, which possibly is a trial piece of the projected issue.

No critical judgment can be formed of Mendozaan coinage without knowledge of the issues minted in the provinces of La Rioja (1821-1822) and Tucumán (1821). The similarity existing between these three coinages is due to the common technique of their manufacture. They are of the "cob" type and those of La Rioja and Tucumán have a common detail, the letters M A in the lower corners of the columns of Hercules. Lack of familiarity with the coins of La Rioja and Tucumán, particularly of the latter, has caused some numismatists to interpret these initials as "Provincia de Mendoza." In our judgment, this error is unwarranted, as the coins of Mendoza are dated 1823 and 1824, while those of the others are of 1821 and 1822. With more accuracy these initials can be considered those of an assayer, whose services had been successively contracted for by the governments of Tucumán and La Rioja. A description of the types of the three coinages follows:²

² We consider that the obverse and reverse of these independent provincial coins should be fixed in relation to the Spanish colonial piece which was used as a model in accordance with governmental orders, such as that of Mendoza of August 6, 1822. Thus, the face of the coin showing the Cross of Jerusalem should be considered the obverse and that with the columns of Hercules the reverse.

TUCUMÁN

Obverse: Cross of Jerusalem dividing the field into four quarters, in the first and fourth of which a castle and in the second and third a lion (symbols of the arms of Castile and Leon) with paired arcs enclosing each quarter. A letter at the extremity of each of the arms of the cross: at the right P, at the left V, at the top L, at the bottom S (forming the word "PLUS"). Reeded border.

Reverse: Two columns, in imitation of the Spanish columns of Hercules, surmounted with crowns,³ between which the value 4 (Reales). Between horizontal lines across field, the motto "Plus Ultra" in the following form: LV/SVL/TR. In the corners formed by the lines and the columns the following letters: above P-A and below M-A. At the base of the columns the date 821 (1821) above ocean waves. Reeded border.

PLATE XVIII, 1-2.

These coins, which are often confused by numismatists with those of Mendoza, have been attributed by the Argentine numismatist Román F. Pardo to the Federal Republic of Tucumán. In the archives of this government monetary documents exist which show that an official coinage was minted in Tucumán in 1821. In his article "Monedas Provinciales Mendocinas,"⁴ Pardo supports his thesis by illustrating four Tucumán pieces countermarked by Mendoza. With the countermark FIDELIDAD and a symbolic scale the gov-

³ Editor's note: In the Spanish the authors say, "Rematadas con un florón, en vez de una corona." In actuality, there are badly executed crowns of a formalized design above the pillars. They are almost exact copies of the crowns on the "cobs" of Philip IV and Charles II from the Lima and Potosí Mints (see Pls. XVIII-XXI of *A. N. S. Museum Notes I*).

⁴ *Boletín del Instituto Bonaerense de Numismática y Antigüedades*, Año I, No. I, Buenos Aires, 1943, p. 64.

ernment of Mendoza guaranteed the purity of their legal standard and thus authorized their use as currency within its own territory.

LA RIOJA

Obverse: Cross of Jerusalem, in the first and fourth quarters of which a castle and in the second and third a lion, with paired arcs enclosing each quarter. Above, the letter L (or LV, as shown fragmentarily on a 4-Reales piece of 1822 in the collection of Miss Elisa Peña of Buenos Aires) and below L (or TLV). At the right A and at the left S. The letters seem to indicate the motto "Plus Ultra," although their order is not correct. Reeded border.

Reverse: Columns of Hercules surmounted with crowns. Across field RIOXA between horizontal lines. The value of the piece above, between crowns on pillars. In corners formed by lines and columns the letters S-P or P-R above and M-A below. At base of columns the date 821 (1821) or 822 (1822) above ocean waves. Reeded border. PLATE XVIII, 3.

These pieces were coined in larger quantity than those of Mendoza and Tucumán. They are unusual in that the motto PLUS ULTRA is replaced by the local name RIOXA. The use of an X for J has no satisfactory explanation as the name of the province and its capital were always written with a J. In comparison with Mendozan coins and the colonial "cobs," those of La Rioja were the product of painstaking workmanship and a skillful engraver.

The letters M-A, interpreted as initials of the assayer, constantly appear in the lower corners. The upper corners do not have P-A, but P-R or S-P. If it is supposed that P-R signifies "Provincia de La Rioja" there is no satisfactory explanation of S-P.

Pieces of one and two reales are known for 1821 and of two and four reales for 1822. Silver coins, struck about 1823, the first of a circular type, are known with the legend *SUR AMERICA—RIOXA—IR*. A variant in gold bore the legend *SUD AMERICA—1823*.

As its supply of bullion came from the near-by highly productive Famatina silver veins the coinage of La Rioja was more plentifully minted than that at Mendoza and Tucumán.

MENDOZA

Obverse: Cross of Jerusalem, in first and fourth quarters of which a castle and in the second and third a lion. On some pieces this placement of the symbols of Castile and Leon is reversed. Paired arcs enclose each quarter. Above the upper arm of the cross, a 4, 2 or 1, to signify the value in reales. Under the lower arm 23 or 24 to indicate its date (1823–1824). At the ends of the lateral arms P and Y. Border of large ovals or dots.

Reverse: Columns of Hercules surmounted with crowns, below which two ocean waves. Between two horizontal lines, the motto *PLVS VLTRA*, with the first letter of *PLVS* and the last of *VLTRA* lacking. In the upper left and right corners P and M for "Provincia de Mendoza." In the lower corners, the initials of the assayer P–Y. Between the column tops is the value and between the bases the date 23 or 24. Above the value the three crosses of Calvary. Border of large ovals or dots.

PLATE XVIII, 4–5 AND XIX, 1–5.

From the known examples it would seem that the coinage comprised the values of one, two and four reales in 1823, and two and four reales in 1824. The silver coin struck in accordance with the law of August 6, 1822, was of the values of "pesetas" (2 reales) and "cuartos" of silver. We believe the latter refers to a piece of four reales and

not to a "cuartillo" (i.e., a fourth of a real) as some suppose. The expression "cuarto" was already known in Spanish monetary laws where the term "cuartos de vellon" was used to designate the copper coin of four maravedises. By analogy the term can be applied to a silver piece of four reales.

The known monetary regulations of the province of Mendoza do not provide for silver coins of either one or one-half real. Nor are these values mentioned by the historian Damián Hudson in his *Recuerdos Históricos sobre la Provincia de Cuyo*, who refers only to "pesetas" and "cuartos de plata." However, it is a logical conclusion that the smaller denominations were struck regularly with the others as they are fractional values necessary in petty commercial transactions. Some of the coins presented by Mr. Perpall,⁵ as Nos. 14 and 16 which have characteristics similar to other values, give credence to the belief that the fractional values were struck.

Study of the two pages of illustrations accompanying Mr. Arnold Perpall's synthesis leads to the following conclusions:

1. Half Real. Without date visible in its entirety, but from the portion visible would seem to be 182. The monogram is different from that of Nos. 13, 14 and 16 and similar to No. 15; rather than Mendoza this signifies PHILIPVS. The date in the nineteenth century eliminates the possibility of its being minted by any of the Philips; it is probable that they are of clandestine manufacture in imitation of the latter. PLATE XIX, 3.

⁵ Arnold Perpall, "The Last Colonial American Cobs, 1823-24," in *The Numismatist*, vol. LVIII (1945), pp. 701-703.

2. 1 Real. 1823. Mendoza.
3. 1 Real. Without date, but because of characteristics similar to No. 2, is likely Mendoza.
4. 2 Reales. 1823. Mendoza.
5. 2 Reales. 1823. Mendoza. This piece has the P of the lower corner replaced by a V, with no letter in the other corner.
6. 2 Reales. 1823. Mendoza. PLATE XIX, 1.
7. 2 Reales. 1823. Mendoza. PLATE XIX, 2.
8. 2 Reales. 1823. Mendoza.
9. 4 Reales. 1823. Mendoza. PLATE XVIII, 5.
10. 2 Reales. 1823. Mendoza.
11. 4 Reales. 1823. Mendoza.
12. 4 Reales. 1823. Mendoza. PLATE XVIII, 4.
13. Half Real. No date visible. Its monogram without the final S can be interpreted easily as being formed by the letters *P*, *V*, and *M* of "*ProV*incia de Mendoza," with a horizontal line to make it resemble the Spanish colonial monogram of Philipppus.
14. Half Real. 1824. Same observation as above.
15. Half Real. Without visible date. Same observation as for No. 1.
16. Half Real. Date seems to be 1824. Same observations as for Nos. 13 and 14.
17. 2 Reales. 1824, although hardly visible. Mendoza.
18. 2 Reales. 1824. Mendoza.
19. 2 Reales. No visible date. Mendoza. This piece has two circular countermarks each of which contains a figure indistinguishable because of poor cleaning.⁶
20. 2 Reales. 1824. Mendoza. PLATE XIX, 5.
- 21 & 22. 2 Reales. 1824. These two pieces are different from those enumerated previously, and the assayer's initials

⁶ Editor's note: A plaster cast of this piece is in possession of the American Numismatic Society. In the lower counterstamp there appears to be a liberty cap within a reeded circle; in the upper counterstamp, an anchor without crossbar.

are D-G. They do not show either the P or the M in the two upper corners, which makes their expertising difficult. The borders of large ovals make them in this respect similar to Mendoza coins already described, but no judicious opinion can be given concerning them without seeing the actual specimens.

23. 4 Reales. 1824. Mendoza. Edoardo Martinori, in his work *La Moneta Vocabolario Generale*, Roma, 1915, (plate) LXXX, No. 18, shows an engraving of the reverse of a piece similar to this, and which he ascribes conjecturally to Nicaragua. PLATE XIX, 4.

ROMULO ZABALA
HUMBERTO F. BURZIO
ROMAN F. PARDO

PLATES



1



2



3



4

PTOLEMY V



5



6



7



8

PTOLEMY V



1



2

ANTIOCHUS II — TARSUS



2



4



6



7



10



11



ROMAN ACQUISITIONS, 1946



14



15



16



21



22



23



24



ROMAN ACQUISITIONS, 1946



25



26



27



28



29



30



31



BYZANTINE ACQUISITIONS, 1946



SESTERTIUS OF DOMITIAN
(Enlarged)



1



2



3

COUNTERSTAMPS ON NOBLES



4



5



6



COUNTERSTAMPS ON NOBLES



7



8



9

COUNTERSTAMPS ON NOBLES



1



2



3



4

THE FIELD COLLECTION



1



2



3



4

THE FIELD COLLECTION



1



2

3

4



5

NUREMBERG



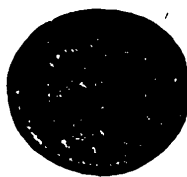
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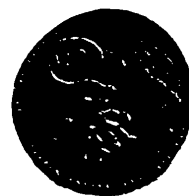
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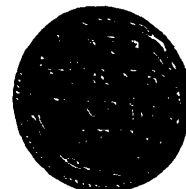
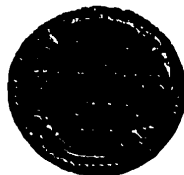
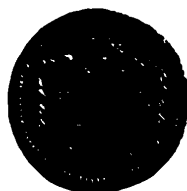
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3



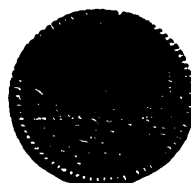
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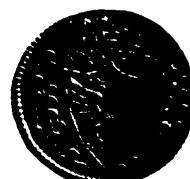
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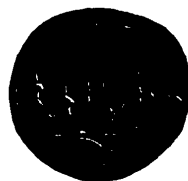
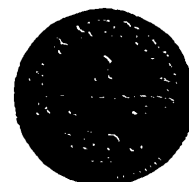
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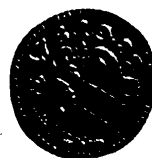
7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22

NUREMBERG



1



2



3



4

SOLMS



1



2



3



4



5



6



SOLMS (1) — COIN WEIGHTS (2-6)



1



2



3



4



5



MENDOZA



1



2



3



4



5



MENDOZA

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



3 9015 06896 3084

11

